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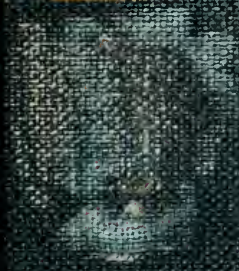

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D. S. Feb. 4. Jany. 1841.

THE TIPPECANOE TEXT-BOOK,

COMPILED FROM

ILES' REGISTER AND OTHER AUTHENTIC RECORDS,

BY WILLIAM OGDEN NILES,

CTFULLY DEDICATED TO THE YOUNG MEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

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INTRODUCTION.

The compiler of the following pages was for nearly twenty years connected with "Niles' Register," either as associate or principal editor of that work. In October last he retired from it; but since GENERAL HARRISON'S nomination for the presidency, numerous applications have been addressed to him from different sections of the country, by individuals seeking *official information* illustrative of the character and services of that veteran soldier-statesman. Such information as is embraced in the pages of the "Register"* has always been promptly and cheerfully given. But he thought he could relieve himself from the necessity of answering every individual applicant, and perform an acceptable service to the friends of general Harrison, by making a synopsis of all the documents, &c., in the "Register," and publishing it in the whig newspapers. He had not, however, advanced far in that task, before he discovered that it would be utterly impracticable to compress within the limits of a newspaper the vast mass of testimony which is necessary to do full justice to his character, and to satisfy the reasonable curiosity of the public; especially that younger portion, who were not actors in the busy scenes of the late war with Great Britain. He, therefore, made an arrangement with general *Duff Green* for the publication of the following compilation; for which he claims no credit, and is fully sensible that it abounds with evidences of the haste with which it was prepared for the press. But he has kept it free from all comments which might reflect upon general Harrison's former associates, and confined himself exclusively to documentary evidence, which no one can dispute.

Neither is it submitted in the spirit of proselytism; but with a sincere desire to do justice to a pure patriot, whose well-earned fame has been shamelessly traduced for the most vile and selfish purposes; and whether he is, or is not elected president of the United States, it is due to his character that the evidences of his devotion to the interests of his country should be more widely diffused among the people. The compiler must remark, however, that every document from the pen of general Harrison affords conclusive proof of his ability to do his own "*writing*," as well as his own "*fighting;*" for they are characterized by a bold, manly, and vigorous style, and abound with those graceful and well-turned periods which mark the practised writer and accomplished scholar. It will also be seen, in the notices of the enthusiasm of the people during the late war, that he was hailed as "The Washington of the West," and was the *first American*, since the death of the "*Father of his Country*," whose services in the cause of civil liberty were compared with those of that great benefactor of the human race. The compiler believes that a "*Second Washington*" will not appear among mankind; and with a sentiment of general Harrison, (which contains an admonition to the American people that should be inscribed on every ballot-box in the country in letters of gold,) offered in reply to a toast† drunk in his honor at Cincinnati, in September, 1828, he submits the "Text-Book" to the *sober judgment of the people.*

By general Harrison:—Electioneering tricks, designed by the great enemy of mankind for the destruction of free governments, by preventing a free expression of the public will.

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* It may be well to state, that the "Register" is admitted to be good authority by all parties, and that it is admitted as evidence in the courts of law.

† "*That he dared to be honest in the worst of times.*"

THE

TIPPECANOE TEXT-BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIRS OF GENERAL WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.*

To the catalogue of those who have distinguished themselves by an early victory over sloth, sensuality, and ease, and by a magnanimous oblation of life and personal services at the shrine of patriotism and military glory, it becomes our pleasing task to add the conqueror of Tippecanoe and the hero of the Thames.

Major-general WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON is descended from one of the oldest and most respectable families in Virginia. Through the earliest records of the colonies, the name of Harrison may be traced in the highest order of office; but our particular information respecting it goes no farther back than the great-grandfather of our present subject, who, though he died young, filled the chair of the house of delegates of that province. His son, too, the grandfather of our William Henry, was a man of considerable wealth, and of vast influence in the colonies; and at his death left several sons, of whom some held considerable rank afterwards, not only in the legislative assembly of the state, but in the provincial army during the revolutionary war. Benjamin, the eldest of these, and the father of our hero, rendered himself particularly conspicuous by his prompt adoption of the cause of the colonies, in defiance of the suggestions of self-interest, which, at that period, would have dictated an adherence to the cause of the mother country. His possessions in the country were large, his personal influence was extensive and commanding, and the consideration in which he was held by the royal government, was of a nature to secure to him every advantage he could reasonably hope to derive from the favor of the crown. Insensible, however, to every personal solicitation, he, on the first breaking out of the revolutionary troubles, without hesitation or delay formed the generous resolution to cling to the cause of his country; in defence of her rights and independence, to put his property, his life, and all his hopes on the hazard of the die; nay, if it should be necessary, to lay them all down as a sacrifice in the struggle; and, in a word, to rise or fall with the fortunes of America. Zeal so very disinterested naturally inspired the people with confidence in his fidelity, while of his talents he had already given such ample proofs, as evinced his qualifications for offices of the highest trust; he was therefore elected by his countrymen to represent the state of Virginia in the continental congress, during the successive sessions of 1774, 1775, and 1776; and in 1777, declining a re-election to congress, was chosen speaker of the lower branch of the state legislature, in which office he continued to act till the year 1782, when he was appointed governor of Virginia in the room of governor Nelson, who had resigned. In all these dignified stations, his conduct was so decided and beneficial to the country, and he on every occasion evinced so much spirit, patriotic zeal, and wisdom, that, with each successive gradation of office, he rose in the esteem, affection, and confidence of his fellow-citizens, till at length he reached the high form graced with the Washingtons, the Henrys, the Randolphs, and the other illustrious men who formed that splendid constellation of worthies, which will immortalize the new world.

In the unwearied discharge of these most important duties, we find him employed during the whole of the revolutionary war. Looking to the journals of congress, we see them filled with repeated testimonials of the implicit trust reposed in his talents and fidelity by that august body. There he appears as one of the three members

* This memoir is chiefly extracted from a memoir published in "*Niles' Register*" of 1816, and copied from the "*Port Folio.*" The events subsequent to 1816 are taken from a very interesting biography of general Harrison, from the pen of I. R. Jackson of Philadelphia, and recently published in that city.

nominated to proceed to Washington's camp in the year 1775, in order to persuade the army to extend their term of service: again, one of the committee appointed to determine whether New York should be burned or defended: after that, chairman of that celebrated committee styled 'the board of war;' and, lastly, chairman of the no less dignified than memorable assembly, in which that momentous subject, the Declaration of Independence, was debated.

Thus honored and deserving of honor, lived the father of general Harrison to the year 1791; when, at the age of sixty-five, he was gathered to his forefathers, leaving behind him three sons, the youngest of whom is the gentleman of whose exploits we are now to speak, and who was born at the family seat in Virginia, on the ninth of February, 1773.

Though the property of Mr. Benjamin Harrison was large, it was not sufficient to place every branch of a numerous offspring in a state of opulent independence suitable to their wonted standing, and according to the customs of the society in which they lived. In his own talents, had they been exclusively devoted to the improvement of his fortune, he had a perennial spring of wealth; but those were so entirely bestowed upon public concerns, and his time was so engrossed by the official duties which he had to perform at a distance from home, that his private affairs were neglected by him, and of course impaired. Office, which in all other times and countries has tended to enrich the possessor, brought nothing but glory to our patriots of that day; and Mr. Harrison, while he was asserting his country's independence, was consuming his family's patrimony. Not that he was addicted to any of those wasteful sports, much less to any of those degrading vices, on which splendid fortunes are too often lavished away in that state. His establishment at Berkley is represented as a model of elegant comfort, and liberal but correct hospitality; in which, however, plain good sense presided; yet, owing to the causes already mentioned, his fortune began to fall to waste; and this suggested to him the expediency of giving his sons such an education as would qualify them for lucrative as well as honorable pursuits in life.

William Henry, who entered upon his education after his elder brothers had finished theirs and been settled in business, was at an early age placed at a grammar-school, from which in due time he was sent to Hampden College, where he remained till he completed his fourteenth year, when he was removed to an academy in Southampton county. There he remained till he entered his seventeenth year; at which time, being pronounced by the principal well qualified to commence the study of physic, for which he was destined by his father, he was placed for a short period under the tuition of doctor Leiper, a practising physician of respectable standing in Richmond, and, in the spring of 1791, was sent to Philadelphia to finish his medical studies.

It was while he was on his journey to Philadelphia that his father died; and this event determined him to abandon altogether a profession which he had consented to enter upon merely to gratify that gentleman. The reception he met from all the eminent professors of that day,—Rush, Shippen, Wistar, &c., particularly from the first of these,—on account of the services rendered by his father during the progress of the revolution, was insufficient to shake his purpose. But what profession to choose in lieu of the medical, was the question which demanded the most prompt decision, as his brother had given him to understand by letter, that the *personal* property left by his father fell short of what would be necessary to the successful prosecution of his original scheme of life.

The connexions of this gentleman, however, were respectable; the family influence was great. Besides president Washington's having a warm interest in his welfare, he was related to attorney-general Randolph, to colonel Bassett, and to Mrs. Washington; and Mr. Randolph, on being appointed secretary of state, offered him a situation in his office. General Henry Lee, of Virginia, however, having about the same time proposed to him to take a commission in the army, he without hesitation agreed to accept of it, as infinitely more congenial with his taste and active disposition, than any other situation that he could hope to acquire: yet justly apprehensive that his choice would not meet the approbation of his connexions, he settled it that general Lee should solicit the commission at the war-office without communicating the matter to either of his friends, Mr. Randolph, or Mr. Morris; but the president happening to mention the affair to Mr. Morris, the latter immediately required our young gentleman's attendance at his house; upon which our young soldier, suspecting that the

object of the summons was to dissuade him from going into the army, flew to the war-office, received his commission in the first regiment of United States infantry, thence hastening to judge Wilson, took the necessary oaths before him, and then proceeded with those documents in his pocket to the house of his patron and friend, who expressed his entire disapprobation of the step he had taken, but said that he would no longer oppose it; and added, "You are going to a fine country, where, if you should leave the army, you may establish yourself to advantage." The regiment in which he was commissioned was then employed on the western waters, under general St. Clair; and from subsequent events it would seem as if Mr. Morris had spoken in the spirit no less of the prophet than the friend; for that very country soon after became the scene of his fame, and the high-road to his fortune and honor.

After spending in Philadelphia a few weeks, during which he was employed in the recruiting service, he proceeded to join his regiment, and arrived at Fort Washington in the north-western territory, a few days after the defeat of general St. Clair's army by the Indians. His arrival is yet remembered by several persons at Cincinnati, who, when he became a man of consequence and popularity in that country, took pleasure in describing his person. The ensign might have been forgotten, but the governor and the major-general buoyed up all the minute circumstances which would have sunk with the poor subaltern officer to the bottom of oblivion. Accordingly, we are told that ensign Harrison, when he joined his corps, was a stripling of nineteen years of age; tall, thin, puerile in his person, and to all appearance but wretchedly qualified for the hardships to which a soldier is liable in the wilderness. Yet with such a frame, softened by all the comfort and delicacy in which the wealthy families of the southern states rear up their children, was our military novice at once exposed to the most trying circumstances.

The broken remains of general St. Clair's army were every day arriving at the fort, naked, broken down, and dispirited. The period of service of the militia had expired: the detachment of the second regiment of regulars that was in the action under St. Clair, was entirely cut up, and thus the task of maintaining the line of posts that had been erected, or establishing new ones, and of affording convoys for provisions, devolved upon an inconsiderable body, composed of between three and four hundred of the first regiment, and the miserable fragments of general St. Clair's shattered army. The situation of our young soldier was now such as might well have discouraged the stoutest heart, and disposed him to listen to the admonitions of his friends in Philadelphia—nay, so formidable was the prospect before him, that a friend whom he met by accident at the fort, after giving him a lively picture of the excessive hardships to which he must necessarily be exposed, with a frame and constitution so wholly unequal to it, exhorted him to resign his commission and return home again, assuring him that even though he should be able to sustain those hardships, it was scarcely possible he should resist the seductive habits of intemperance which at that time prevailed in the army. All these remonstrances were unavailing. Taking counsel partly from his own private inclination, and partly from a nice sensibility to shame, which suggested, in exaggerated colors, the impropriety of retreating from his purpose in such a crisis, and perhaps a little too from the apprehension of being ridiculed by his former associates, he determined to persevere, and was soon after appointed to the command of a detachment of twenty men ordered to escort a number of pack-horses to Fort Hamilton; a duty which, though it was attended with singular difficulties, distresses, and privations, and with all the hardships incident to Indian warfare, such as lying out unsheltered and exposed to the inclemency of the weather, to rain and snow, and wind by night as well as by day, he accomplished to such perfect satisfaction, that he received the public thanks of general St. Clair for his conduct.

Soon afterwards general St. Clair set out for Philadelphia, and early in January, 1792, general Wilkinson being appointed colonel of the second regiment, took the command of the army. Of this event general Harrison always speaks with pleasure, as making a very interesting era in his life.

The successive defeats of Harmar and St. Clair pointed out to government the necessity of adopting a more effectual mode of repressing the Indians, or in other words, of calling into action against them a larger force and a more cautious system of operations. Negotiations for peace, therefore, were set on foot, in order, if possible, to

bring the savages to reason, at the same time that an act of congress was passed for raising a considerable army; and in order to provide against that error which had occasioned the two past defeats, viz. the want of discipline in the troops. The whole of the year 1792, and the winter and spring of 1793, were employed in raising men, and instructing them in military discipline. The new troops were stationed under general Wayne, at first a few miles below Pittsburg, and then descending the Ohio, were encamped upon its banks below Cincinnati, where Harrison joined them, in June, 1793, and was appointed second aid-de-camp to the commander-in-chief, having been in the preceding year raised to a lieutenancy in the first regiment.

In September, it being understood that the negotiations with the Indians had failed of effect and were broken off, the army, consisting of four thousand five hundred effective regulars, including some troops of dragoons, and of an auxiliary force of two thousand mounted militia under the command of general Scott, marched to Greenville; but an early setting in of the frost rendered it advisable to put the troops into winter quarters, huts were built, and a system of discipline, calculated for the kind of warfare in which they were to be employed, was diligently put in practice. Here young Harrison devoted himself to the study and practice of his profession with such success, that he obtained the confidence of his commander and the attachment of his associates.

It was not, however, till the latter end of June, 1794, that general Wayne was enabled to march from Greenville, the enemy retreating before him as he advanced. He took and destroyed the town of the Indians, and advanced upon the British fort lately built at the foot of the rapids of the Miami river. The Indians had collected in that neighborhood, and on the 20th of August opposed the march of the American army, who soon routed them, and driving them to within a short distance of the British fort, encamped in full view of it. In this battle Harrison's conduct received the warmest applause from general Wayne. He had been appointed by the general to assist in forming the left wing of the regular troops; a task of extreme difficulty, owing to the thickness of the woods in which they were posted, and he accomplished it with great skill and effect.

Thus completely vanquished and humiliated, the Indians sued for peace; in the winter an armistice was granted to them, and in the August following a treaty terminated all their differences, and, with those, the war.

In the autumn of 1795, Mr. Harrison, now a captain, was married to the youngest daughter of John Cheeves Symmes, esq., one of the judges of the north-western territory; and on the departure of general Wayne for the Atlantic states, was continued by him in his post of aid-de-camp, and left in the command of Fort Washington. In the former of these offices he remained till the death of general Wayne, which happened in the course of the following year.

In 1797 captain Harrison finding the country reposed in peace, left the army, and was in a few weeks afterwards appointed secretary of the north-western territory in the room of W. Sergeant, esq., who was raised to the office of governor of the Mississippi territory. In the year 1799, he was sent as a delegate to congress from the north-western territory, and had an active share in bringing through congress the law for changing the defective system that had been in use for the sale of public lands, and in introducing the plan now in operation. He was in fact the person who originated that measure, the happy effects of which upon the treasury of the United States are now acknowledged by every one; for it has been ascertained, that the immense growth of population which enabled that territory in a short time after to become one of the states, and at this time not one of the smallest, arose altogether from that plan.

When the Indiana territory was formed out of a part of the north-western, Mr. Harrison was appointed, by Mr. Adams, the first governor of it; and in the year 1801, removed to the capital of it (Vincennes) with his family. At the expiration of three years, for which he had been appointed, he was again nominated to that office by Mr. Jefferson, and continued to retain it under Mr. Madison till he was called to the command of the north-western army after the fall of Detroit.

During his administration he directed his attention to the disciplining of the militia, and exerted himself in endeavoring to civilize and better the condition of the Indian tribes that fell under his superintendence. In his letters to governor Scott of Ken-

tucky, which have been published, and in his speeches to the Indiana legislature, he strenuously recommended the system of the old republics, under which military instruction was commenced at school. In consequence of that recommendation, the United States gave a section of each township of Indiana for the use of schools, and an entire township near Vincennes towards the establishment of a college, for the express purpose of military instruction.

Of his anxiety to secure the Indians from inquietude and the aggressions of the whites, to promote their civilization, and to induce them to raise domestic animals as a substitute for the wild game which was rapidly decreasing, his speeches and messages to the legislature of Indiana bear abundant testimony; while the many advantageous treaties he made with them, prove his popularity with that singular race of beings. But a still stronger proof is this:—A few of the party attached to the prophet, gave out that the tribes who signed the treaty at Fort Wayne in 1809, were overawed by a large force into that measure, contrary to their inclination. This was a foul aspersion; for the truth has been established beyond controversy, that at the time of negotiating there were no more than thirty soldiers along with governor Harrison, while the Indians amounted to more than eighteen hundred—and he was entirely in their power, having slept at a house half a mile from the fort surrounded by a multitude of Indians.

The civil administration of general Harrison as governor of the territory, though not attended with such splendid circumstances as his military achievements, do him no less credit. A minute detail of his conduct in that high office would be out of its place in such an article as this, and could not be very interesting to the reader. For the present purpose it is sufficient to state that his management of the territory obtained the universal applause of the people, and the unqualified approbation of the general government. One event of it, however, merits particular description, as well on account of its important effects upon the public concerns, as of its serving to illustrate the character of general Harrison—we mean the expedition on the Wabash, in the autumn of 1811, which ended in the victory of Tippecanoe.

[Official details of the battle of *Tippecanoe*, the defence of *Fort Meigs*, and the victory over Proctor at the *Thames*, &c. are inserted in subsequent chapters, and it is not necessary to give them here. They were, indeed, glorious achievements, and reflected the highest honor upon the victorious general, who was greeted as "*the Washington of the West.*"]

On receiving the news of the victory of the Thames, the thanks of congress were expressed to general Harrison in the warmest manner. Among many others, whose grateful feelings found utterance on that occasion, the hon. Langdon Cheves observed, on the floor of congress, that—'The victory of Harrison was such as would have secured to a Roman general in the best days of the republic, the honors of a triumph.' A sentiment which was fully responded to, in the complimentary notices which he received from every part of the union.

Having entirely defeated the enemy in Upper Canada, general Harrison advanced with a part of his army, to the Niagara frontier, and thence to Sackett's Harbor, where he left the troops, and proceeded to the seat of government. On his way thither, he passed through New York, and Philadelphia; in which cities he was received with the most flattering marks of public honor and distinction. After the necessary delay of a few days at Washington, general Harrison proceeded to Ohio, where important duties required his presence.

In the plan for the ensuing campaign, to the surprise and regret of the public, general Harrison was designated for a service, far inferior to that which he had a right to expect. Regardless of the memorable victories which this gallant and experienced officer had won, and unmindful of the various and important services which he had rendered to his country, the secretary of war saw fit to assign to him the command of a district, where he would be compelled to remain inactive, while others were appointed to those more arduous duties, which he had heretofore fulfilled with so much honor to himself, and to the nation. As if still unsatisfied with the insult which he had offered to general Harrison, the secretary of war, on the 25th of April, 1814, appointed a subordinate officer to a separate command within his district, and notified him to that effect. On the receipt of this notification, general Harrison instantly addressed a letter to the secretary, tendering his resignation, with a notification

thereof to the president. 'As soon as governor Shelby heard of the resignation of general Harrison, he lost no time in addressing the president in his usual forcible terms, to prevent his acceptance of it; but unfortunately for the public interests, the president was then on a visit to Virginia, to which place the letters from general Harrison and governor Shelby were forwarded, and that of the latter was not received until after the secretary, Armstrong, WITHOUT THE PREVIOUS CONSENT OF THE PRESIDENT, had assumed to himself the high prerogative of accepting the resignation. The president expressed his great regret that the letter of governor Shelby had not been received earlier, as in that case the valuable services of general Harrison would have been preserved to the nation in the ensuing campaign.'

Soon after his resignation, in the summer of 1814, Mr. Madison evinced his unabated confidence in the abilities and integrity of general Harrison, by appointing him to treat with the Indians, in conjunction with his old companions in arms, governor Shelby, and general Cass. And in the following year, he was placed at the head of another commission, appointed to treat with the north-western tribes. The advantageous treaties made in both these cases, afforded new instances of the unfailing success, that has always attended general Harrison's negotiations with the Indians.

In 1816, he was elected, by a large majority, a member of the house of representatives in congress, from Ohio. In this station he served, greatly to his own honor and to the satisfaction of his constituents, until 1819; when, on the expiration of his term of service, he was chosen to the senate of the state legislature.

In 1824, he was elected a senator of the United States from Ohio. While serving in this high station, he commanded universal respect. His views as a statesman were liberal and extended; his remarkable readiness in debate soon rendered him a prominent member; and the nervous and impassioned eloquence, and classical felicity of illustration, with which he enforced his arguments, gained him much influence.

In 1828, he was appointed by Mr. Adams, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Republic of Colombia. He accepted this appointment, and repaired, without delay, to the scene of his duties, where he was received with every demonstration of respect. He found this unhappy country in a deplorable condition—the people ignorant of their rights, and almost in a state of anarchy, and Bolivar apparently about to assume the despotic power of a military dictator. Shocked at this state of things, with the frankness of an old soldier, he wrote his celebrated letter to Bolivar, which is inserted at length in subsequent pages.

General Harrison remained in Colombia but a short time, having been recalled by general Jackson, soon after he came into power.

Since his return from this mission, he has lived in comparative retirement, in Ohio, the state of his adoption. With the most enticing opportunities of accumulating wealth, during his long government of Indiana, and superintendency of Indian affairs, he acquired none; his honest and scrupulous integrity was proof against the golden temptations. His time and best energies were devoted to the service of his country, and his own interests were ever, with him, a secondary consideration. He therefore retired without the spoils of office, and with only a competency barely sufficient for his support; but rich in a reputation undimmed by a single tarnish, and in the honor and respect of all his fellow-citizens.

General Harrison is now sixty-six years of age; but such have been the activity and temperate habits of his past life, that he enjoys his moral and physical energies in remarkable vigor. In person, he is tall and thin; his features are irregular, but his eyes are dark, keen, and penetrating; his forehead is expansive; his mouth peculiarly indicative of firmness and genius; and his countenance is highly expressive of intelligence and benevolence. His manners are plain, frank, and unassuming, and his disposition is cheerful, kind, and generous, almost to a fault. In his private intercourse, he is beloved and esteemed by all who know him. In the various civil and military offices he has held, he has always been moderate and forbearing, yet firm and true to his trust. No other commander has ever been more popular with our militia, and the true secret of this cannot be better explained than by his own reply, when asked how he had gained this influence: 'By treating them,' said he, 'with affection and kindness, by always recollecting that they were my fellow-citizens, whose feelings I was bound to respect; and by sharing with them, on every occasion, the hardships which they were obliged to undergo.'"

CHAPTER II.

THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE, ETC.

The preceding memoir presents a most interesting and graphic account of the nature and value of the services of General Harrison, and ought to convince any reasonable man that he possesses, in an extraordinary degree, all those qualifications which should adorn a brave soldier and an enlightened statesman, and that he is "peculiarly fitted to bring back the government to that old and beaten track in which it was marching to prosperity and greatness," until perverted to the base purposes of party, and used to crush, instead of to protect, the interests of the people. The foul spirit of detraction has, however, been at work, and it is the design of the following pages to exhibit, *from official sources*, the evidences of his public services, and the estimation in which they were held by the government and the people; and thus enable the friends of the peoples' candidate to repel error and establish truth.

His celebrated battle with the Indians was fought on the night of the 7th of November, 1811, on the Wabash river, at a place called TIPPECANOE, in sight of the Prophet's town, and lasted for two hours. Thirty-seven Americans were killed, and one hundred and fifty-one wounded. Among the killed were colonels Owen and Shelby, captain Spencer, and both of his subalterns, captain Berry of Croydon, and captain Baen of the regular army. Governor Harrison was shot through the hat and slightly wounded. The American force consisted of eight hundred men; three hundred and fifty of these were of the 4th regiment United States infantry, and the remainder volunteer cavalry and riflemen from the state of Kentucky and the territory of Indiana, of which territory Harrison was then governor. The force of the Indians is not stated with accuracy, but it greatly outnumbered the American troops; and they suffered great loss in killed and wounded. The Indians, it was believed, were instigated to hostilities against our peaceful citizens, by the British government, and completely armed and equipped out of the king's stores at Malden. "Indeed," said gov. Harrison, in a letter to colonel J. M. Scott, of Frankfort, Kentucky, (see vol. i. Niles' Reg. p. 311.) "they were much better armed than the greater part of my troops; every Indian was provided with a gun, scalping knife, tomahawk and war club, and most of them with a spear, whilst the greater part of the riflemen had no other weapon than a rifle." The governor had marched up to the Prophet's town in the evening, and held a conference with him, when it was agreed to hold a council the next morning. A negro, however, deserted to the Indians, and told them that the governor had but about three hundred men, that he had a large quantity of goods with him, and that the next day, when they were in council, he intended to fall upon them and destroy them. This information, it is supposed, induced the Indians to make the attack in the night, when they rushed upon the American troops with extraordinary rapidity. But they were not "*surprised*," as has been asserted; for it will be seen, by referring to Niles' Reg. vol. ii. p. 56., that three captains, one ensign, and the surgeon and assistant surgeon of the 4th regiment United States infantry, have published certificates and statements relative to the battle, in which the prudence and skill of governor Harrison are represented in the most honorable light. "*The whole of the men slept upon their arms, with their accoutrements upon them, and the lines were formed in FROM FOUR TO SIX MINUTES after the firing of the first gun, with astonishing regularity and order;*"—which could not have been accomplished in a dark night, without a previous arrangement predicated upon a supposed attack! The American troops fought with the most determined bravery, and the Indians, inspired by the presence of their Prophet, and their thirst for blood and plunder, obstinately maintained their ground for two hours. Cols. Daveiss, Owen, White, Geiger, judge Taylor, major Floyd, and captains Berry, Baen and Spencer, performed prodigies of valor. Three Indians attacked colonel E. Geiger in his tent at one time, he killed one and vanquished the other two, when he was wounded in the arm. Major Floyd

fought like Cæsar, "*in his shirt tail*," and clothed himself with victory. The slaughter was, indeed, dreadful, for the Indians came to the point of the bayonet with their tomahawks, and only ceased the struggle with the loss of life. After the battle gov. Harrison took possession of about five thousand bushels of corn, belonging to the Indians, and burned the Prophet's town. (See Niles' Reg. vol. i. p. 238.)

There was another unfounded statement in relation to this brilliant affair which attracted the notice of some of the brave officers who participated in it. A correspondent of the *National Intelligencer*, in a letter to the editor of that publication, dated February 22, 1817, recorded in Niles, vol. xii. p. 90, said:—

"In Dr. Ramsay's history of the American Revolution, continued by Dr. Smith to the treaty of Ghent, I find in pages 142, 3, and 4, of the 3d volume, an account of the transactions which preceded the battle of Tippecanoe, so essentially different from the facts, particularly that part which states that general Harrison encamped his troops on ground selected or pointed out by the Indians, that I am induced, from regard to historic truth, and the reputation of a distinguished officer, to request the publication of the following extract from McAffee's history of the war in the western country, and the subjoined statements of the honorable Waller Taylor, now a senator from Indiana, and lieut. col. Snelling, of the army, then a captain in the 4th United States regiment of infantry. JUSTICE.

THE EXTRACT.

"To this it was observed, that as the Indians seen hovering about the army, had been frequently invited to a parley by the interpreters, who had proceeded some distance from the lines for the purpose; and as these overtures had universally been answered by menace and insult, it was very evident that it was their intention to fight; that the troops were in high spirits and full of confidence; and that advantage ought to be taken of their ardour to lead them immediately to the enemy; to this the governor (Harrison) answered, that he was fully sensible of the eagerness of the troops; and admitting the determined hostility of the Indians, and that their insolence was full evidence of their intention to fight, yet he knew them too well to believe that they would ever do this, but by surprise, or on ground which was entirely favorable to their mode of fighting. He was therefore determined not to advance with the troops, until he knew precisely the situation of the town, and the ground adjacent to it, particularly that which intervened between it and the place where the army then was—that it was their duty to fight when they came in contact with the enemy—it was his to take care that they should not engage in a situation where their valor would be useless, and where a corps upon which he placed great reliance would be unable to act; that the experience of the last two hours ought to convince every officer, that no reliance ought to be placed upon the guides, as to the topography of the country; that relying on their information, the troops had been led into a situation so unfavorable, that but for the celerity with which they changed their position, a few Indians might have destroyed them. He was therefore determined not to advance to the town, until he had previously reconnoitered, either in person, or by some one on whose judgment he could rely. Major Daveiss immediately replied, that from the right of the position of the dragoons, which was still in front, the opening made by the low grounds of the Wabash could be seen; that with his adjt. D. Floyd, he had advanced to the bank, which descends to the low grounds, and had a fair view of the cultivated fields and the houses of the town; and that the open woods, in which the troops then were, continued without interruption to the town. Upon this information, the governor said he would advance, provided he could get any proper person to go to the town with a flag. Captain T. Dubois, of Vincennes, having offered his services, he was despatched with an interpreter to the Prophet, desiring to know whether he would now comply with the terms that had been so often proposed to him. The army was moved slowly after in order of battle. In a few moments a messenger came from captain Dubois, informing the governor that the Indians were near him in considerable numbers, but that they would return no answer to the interpreter, although they were sufficiently near to hear what was said to them, and that upon his advancing, they constantly endeavoured to cut him off from the army. Gov. Harrison, during this last effort to open a negotiation, which was sufficient to show his wish for an accom-

modation, resolved no longer to hesitate in treating the Indians as enemies. He therefore recalled captain Dubois, and moved on with a determination to attack them. He had not proceeded far, however, before he was met by three Indians, one of them a principal counsellor to the Prophet. They were sent, they said, to know why the army was advancing upon them—that the Prophet wished if possible to avoid hostilities; that he had sent a pacific message by the Miami and Patawatamie chiefs, who had come to him on the part of the governor—and that those chiefs had unfortunately gone down on the south side of the Wabash. A suspension of hostilities was accordingly agreed upon; and a meeting was to take place the next day between Harrison and the chiefs, to agree upon the terms of peace. The governor further informed them, that he would go on to the Wabash and encamp there for the night. Upon marching a short distance further he came in view of the town, which was seen at some distance up the river upon a commanding eminence. Major Daveiss and adjt. Floyd had mistaken some scattered houses in the fields below for the town itself. The ground below the town being unfavorable for an encampment, the army marched on in the direction of the town, with a view to obtain a better situation beyond it. The troops were in an order of march, calculated by a single conversion of companies, to form the order of battle, which it had last assumed, the dragoons being in front. This corps soon however became entangled in ground covered with brush and tops of fallen trees. A halt was ordered, and major Daveiss directed to change position with Spencer's rifle corps, which occupied the open fields adjacent to the river. The Indians seeing this manœuvre, at the approach of the troops towards the town, supposed that they intended to attack it, and immediately prepared for defence. Some of them sallied out, and called to the advance corps to halt. The governor upon this rode forward, and requested some of the Indians to come to him, assured them that nothing was farther from his thoughts than to attack them—that the ground below the town on the river was not calculated for an encampment, and that it was his intention to search for a better one above. He asked if there was any other water convenient beside that which the river afforded; and an Indian with whom he was well acquainted, answered, that the creek which had been crossed two miles back, ran through the prairie to the north of the village. A halt was then ordered, and some officers sent back to examine the creek, as well as the river above the town. In half an hour, brigade-major Marston Clarke and major Waller Taylor returned, and reported that they had found on the creek every thing that could be desired in an encampment—an elevated spot, nearly surrounded by an open prairie, with water convenient, and a sufficiency of wood for fuel. An idea was propagated by the enemies of governor Harrison, after the battle of Tippecanoe, that the Indians had forced him to encamp on a place, chosen by them as suitable for the attack they intended. The place however was chosen by majors Taylor and Clarke, after examining all the environs of the town; and when the army of general Hopkins was there in the following year, they all united in the opinion, that a better spot to resist Indians was not to be found in the whole country.

The above account taken from McAffee's history of the war in the western country, as it relates to the situation of the camp occupied by the army under the command of governor Harrison, on the night between the 6th and 7th of November, 1811, is entirely correct. The spot for the encampment was selected by col. Clarke, (who acted as brigade-major to general Boyd,) and myself. We were directed by governor Harrison to examine the country up and down the creek until we should find a suitable place for an encampment. In a short time we discovered the place on which the army encamped, and to which it was conducted by us. No intimation was given by the Indians of the wish that we should encamp there, nor could they possibly have known where the army would encamp until it took its position. The only error in the above extract is, in saying that major Clarke and myself were sent *back*, by which it would appear that the army retrograded to take up its encampment; this is not the fact, the army filed off in front of the town at right angles to the Wabash to reach its encampment. It has ever been my belief that the position we occupied was the best that could be found anywhere near us, and I believe that nine-tenths of the officers were of that opinion. We did not go on the Wabash above the town, but I am certain that there was no position below it that was eligible for an encampment.

February 22, 1817. WALLER TAYLOR.

My situation as a platoon officer prevented my having personal knowledge of the transactions above related, so far as respects the selection of the encampment of the army under general Harrison by his staff officers; but having carefully perused the extract from McAffee's history, I have no hesitation in saying that I believe it to be substantially correct; and that in my opinion the ground on which the army encamped combined the advantages of wood, water, and a defensible position, in a greater degree than any other spot in that section of the country; the ground on the Wabash was wholly unfit, the highland being destitute of water, and the intervale (or bottom-land as it is called) being without wood, and incapable of being defended.

J. SNELLING,
Lieut. colonel 6th Infantry.

Washington, February 28, 1817."

The following is governor Harrison's official account of the battle, communicated by president Madison to the senate and house of representatives of the United States, December, 1811, and published in Niles, vol. i. pp. 301—304.

"*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.*

I lay before congress two letters received from governor Harrison of the Indiana Territory, reporting the particulars and the issue of the expedition under his command, notice of which was taken in my communication of November 5.

While it is deeply lamented that so many valuable lives have been lost in the action which took place on the 7th ultimo, congress will see with satisfaction the dauntless spirit and fortitude victoriously displayed by every description of the troops engaged, as well as the collected firmness which distinguished their commander on an occasion requiring the utmost exertions of valor and discipline.

It may reasonably be expected that the good effects of this critical defeat and dispersion of a combination of savages which appears to have been spreading to a greater extent, will be experienced not only in a cessation of the murders and depredations committed on our frontier, but in the prevention of any hostile incursions otherwise to have been apprehended.

The families of those brave and patriotic citizens who have fallen in this severe conflict, will doubtless engage the favorable attention of Congress.

JAMES MADISON.

Washington, December 18, 1811.

Vincennes, November 18, 1811.

SIR—In my letter of the 8th instant, I did myself the honor to communicate the result of an action between the troops under my command and the confederation of Indians under the control of the Shawanoe prophet. I had previously informed you in a letter of the 2nd instant, of my proceedings previously to my arrival at the Vermillion river, where I had erected a blockhouse for the protection of the boats which I was obliged to leave, and as a depository for our heavy baggage, and such of our provisions as we were unable to transport in wagons. On the morning of the 3d instant, I commenced my march from the blockhouse. The Wabash above this turning considerably to the eastward—I was obliged in order to avoid the broken and woody country which borders upon it to change my course to the westward of north to gain the prairies which lie to the back of these woods. At the end of one day's march, I was enabled to take the proper direction (N. E.) which brought me on the evening of the 5th to a small creek at about eleven miles from the Prophet's town. I had on the preceding day avoided the dangerous pass of Pine creek by inclining a few miles to the left, where the troops and wagons were crossed with expedition and safety. Our route on the 6th for about six miles lay through prairies separated by small points of wood.

My order of march hitherto had been similar to that used by general Wayne; that is, the infantry were in two columns of files on either side of the road, and the mounted riflemen and cavalry in front, in the rear, and on the flanks. Where the ground was unfavorable for the action of cavalry they were placed in the rear, but where it was otherwise they were made to exchange positions with one of the mounted rifle corps.

Understanding that the last four miles were open woods, and the probability being greater that we should be attacked in front than on either flank, I halted at that distance from the town and formed the army in order of battle. The United States infantry placed in the centre, two companies of infantry and one of mounted riflemen on each flank formed the front line. In the rear of this line was placed the baggage, drawn up as compact as possible, and immediately behind it a reserve of three companies of militia infantry. The cavalry formed a second line at the distance of three hundred yards in the rear of the front line, and a company of mounted riflemen the advanced guard at that distance in front. To facilitate the march, the whole were then broken off in short columns of companies, a situation the most favorable for forming in order of battle with facility and precision. Our march was slow and cautious, and much delayed by the examination of every place which seemed calculated for an ambuscade. Indeed the ground was for some time so unfavorable that I was obliged to change the position of the several corps, three times in the distance of a mile. At half-past two o'clock we passed a small creek at the distance of one mile and a half from the town, and entered an open wood when the army was halted and again drawn up in order of battle. During the whole of the last day's march parties of Indians were constantly about us, and every effort was made by the interpreters to speak to them, but in vain—new attempts of the kind were now made, but proving equally ineffectual, a captain Dubois, of the spies and guides, offering to go with a flag to the town, I despatched him with an interpreter to request a conference with the prophet—in a few moments a message was sent by captain Dubois to inform me that in his attempt to advance, the Indians appeared in both his flanks, and although he had spoken to them in the most friendly manner, they refused to answer, but beckoned to him to go forward, and constantly endeavoured to cut him off from the army. Upon this information I recalled the captain, and determined to encamp for the night, and take some other measures for opening a conference with the prophet. Whilst I was engaged in tracing the lines for the encampment, major Daveiss, who commanded the dragoons, came up to inform me that he had penetrated to the Indian fields; that the ground was entirely open and favorable; that the Indians in front had manifested nothing but hostility, and had answered every attempt to bring them to a parley with contempt and insolence. It was immediately advised by all the officers around me to move forward. A similar wish indeed pervaded all the army—it was drawn up in excellent order, and every man appeared eager to decide the contest immediately. Being informed that a good encampment might be had upon the Wabash, I yielded to what appeared to be the general wish, and directed the troops to advance, taking care, however, to place the interpreters in front, with directions to invite a conference with any Indians they might meet with. We had not advanced above four hundred yards, when I was informed that three Indians had approached the advanced guards and had expressed a wish to speak to me. I found upon their arrival that one of them was a man in great estimation with the prophet. He informed me that the chiefs were much surprised at my advancing upon them so rapidly—that they were given to understand by the Delawares and Miamies whom I had sent to them a few days before, that I would not advance to their town, until I had received an answer to my demands made through them. That this answer had been despatched by the Patawatamie chief, Winemac, who had accompanied the Miamies and Delawares on their return; that they had left the prophet's town two days before with a design to meet me, but unfortunately taken the road on the south side of the Wabash. I answered that I had no intention of attacking them until I discovered that they would not comply with the demands which I had made—that I would go on and encamp at the Wabash, and in the morning would have an interview with the prophet and his chiefs, and explain to them the determination of the president—that in the mean time no hostilities should be committed. He seemed much pleased with this, and promised that it should be observed on their part. I then resumed my march, we struck the cultivated grounds about five hundred yards below the town, but as these extended to the bank of the Wabash there was no possibility of getting an encampment which was provided with both wood and water. My guards and interpreters being still with the advanced guard, and taking the direction of the town, the army followed and had advanced within about one hundred and fifty yards, when fifty or sixty Indians sallied out, and with loud exclamations called to the cavalry and to the militia infantry, which were

on our right flank, to halt. I immediately advanced to the front, caused the army to halt, and directed an interpreter to request some of the chiefs to come to me. In a few moments the man that had been with me before made his appearance. I informed him that my object for the present was to procure a good piece of ground to encamp on, where we could get wood and water—he informed me that there was a creek to the north-west which he thought would suit our purpose. I immediately despatched two officers to examine it, and they reported that the situation was excellent. I then took leave of the chief, and a mutual promise was again made for a suspension of hostilities until we could have an interview on the following day. I found the ground destined for the encampment not altogether such as I could wish it—it was indeed admirably calculated for the encampment of regular troops that were opposed to regulars, but it afforded great facility to the approach of savages. It was a piece of dry oak land, rising about ten feet above the level of the marshy prairie in front (towards the Indian town) and nearly twice that height above a similar prairie in the rear, through which and near to this bank ran a small stream clothed with willows and other brush wood. Towards the left flank this bench of highland widened considerably, but became gradually narrower in the opposite direction, and at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from the right flank, terminated in the abrupt point. The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear of this ground at the distance of about one hundred and fifty yards from each other on the left, and something more than half that distance on the right flank—these flanks were filled up, the first by two companies of mounted riflemen amounting to about one hundred and twenty men, under the command of major-general Wells of the Kentucky militia, who served as a major; the other by Spencer's company of mounted riflemen which amounted to eighty men. The front line was composed of one battalion of United States infantry under the command of major Floyd, flanked on the right by two companies of militia, and on the left by one company. The rear line was composed of a battalion of United States troops under the command of captain Baen, acting as major, and four companies of militia infantry under lieutenant-colonel Decker. The regular troops of the line joined the mounted riflemen under general Wells on the left flank, and colonel Decker's battalion formed an angle with Spencer's company on the left.

Two troops of dragoons, amounting in the aggregate to about sixty men, were encamped in the rear of the left flank, and captain Parke's troop, which was larger than the other two, in the rear of the front line. Our order of encampment varied little from that above described, excepting when some peculiarity of the ground made it necessary. For a night attack the order of encampment was the order of battle, and each man slept immediately opposite to his post in the line. In the formation of my troops I used a single rank, or what is called Indian file—because in Indian warfare, where there is no shock to resist, one rank is nearly as good as two, and in that kind of warfare the extension of line is a matter of the first importance.—Raw troops also manœuvre with much more facility in single than in double ranks. It was my constant custom to assemble all the field officers at my tent every evening by signal, to give them the watch word and their instructions for the night—those given for the night of the 6th were, that each corps which formed a part of the exterior line of the encampment, should hold its own ground until relieved. The dragoons were directed to parade dismounted in case of a night attack, with their pistols in their belts, and to act as a corps de reserve. The camp was defended by two captains guards, consisting each of four non-commissioned officers and 42 privates—and two subalterns guards of twenty non-commissioned officers and privates. The whole under the command of a field officer of the day.—The troops were regularly called up an hour before day, and made to continue under arms until it was quite light. On the morning of the 7th I had risen at a quarter after four o'clock, and the signal for calling out the men would have been given in two minutes, when the attack commenced. It began on our left flank—but a single gun was fired by the sentinels or by the guard in that direction, which made not the least resistance, but abandoned their officer and fled into the camp, and the first notice which the troops of that flank had of the danger, was from the yells of the savages within a short distance of the line—but even under those circumstances the men were not wanting to themselves or to the occasion. Such of them as were awake, or were easily awakened, seized their arms and took their stations; others which were more tardy, had to contend with the enemy in the

doors of their tents. The storm first fell upon captain Barton's company of the 4th United States regiment, and captain Geiger's company of mounted riflemen, which formed the left angle of the rear line. The fire upon these was excessively severe, and they suffered considerably before relief could be brought to them; some few Indians passed into the encampment near the angle, and one or two penetrated to some distance before they were killed. I believe all the other companies were under arms and tolerably formed before they were fired on. The morning was dark and cloudy—our fires afforded a partial light, which, if it gave us some opportunity of taking our positions, was still more advantageous to the enemy, affording them the means of taking a surer aim—they were therefore extinguished as soon as possible. Under all these discouraging circumstances, the troops (nineteen twentieths of whom had never been in action before) behaved in a manner that never can be too much applauded. They took their places without noise and with less confusion than could have been expected from veterans placed in a similar situation. As soon as I could mount my horse, I rode to the angle that was attacked—I found that Barton's company had suffered severely and the left of Geiger's entirely broken. I immediately ordered Cook's company and the late captain Wentworth's, under lieutenant Peters, to be brought up from the centre of the rear line, where the ground was much more defensible, and formed across the angle in support of Barton's and Geiger's. My attention was then engaged by a heavy firing upon the left of the front line, where were stationed the small company of United States riflemen, (then however armed with muskets,) and the companies of Baen, Snelling, and Prescott of the 4th regiment. I found major Daveiss forming the dragoons in the rear of those companies, and understanding that the heaviest part of the enemy's fire proceeded from some trees about fifteen or twenty paces in front of those companies, I directed the major to dislodge them with a part of the dragoons. Unfortunately the major's gallantry determined him to execute the order with a smaller force than was sufficient, which enabled the enemy to avoid him in front, and attack his flanks. The major was mortally wounded and his party driven back. The Indians were however immediately and gallantly dislodged from their advantageous position, by captain Snelling at the head of his company. In the course of a few minutes after the commencement of the attack, the fire extended along the left flank, the whole of the front, the right flank, and part of the rear line. Upon Spencer's mounted riflemen, and the right of Warwick's company, which was posted on the right of the rear line, it was excessively severe; captain Spencer and his first and second lieutenants were killed, and captain Warwick was mortally wounded—those companies however still bravely maintained their posts, but Spencer had suffered so severely, and having originally too much ground to occupy, I reinforced them with Robb's company of riflemen, which had been driven, or by mistake ordered from their position on the left flank towards the centre of the camp, and filled the vacancy that had been occupied by Robb with Prescott's company of the 4th United States regiment. My great object was to keep the lines entire, to prevent the enemy from breaking into the camp until day light, which should enable me to make a general and effectual charge. With this view I had reinforced every part of the line that had suffered much; and as soon as the approach of morning discovered itself, I withdrew from the front line Snelling's, Posey's (under lieutenant Albright) and Scott's, and from the rear line, Wilson's companies, and drew them up upon the left flank, and at the same time I ordered Cook's and Baen's companies, the former from the rear and the latter from the front line, to reinforce the right flank; foreseeing that at these points the enemy would make their last efforts. Major Wells, who commanded on the left flank, not knowing my intentions precisely, had taken the command of these companies, and charged the enemy before I had formed the body of dragoons with which I meant to support the infantry; a small detachment of these were however ready and proved amply sufficient for the purpose. The Indians were driven by the infantry at the point of the bayonet, and the dragoons pursued and forced them into a marsh, where they could not be followed. Captain Cook and lieutenant Larebee had, agreeably to my order, marched their companies to the right flank, had formed them under the fire of the enemy, and being then joined by the riflemen of that flank, had charged the Indians, killed a number, and put the rest to a precipitate flight. A favorable opportunity was here offered to pursue the enemy

with dragoons, but being engaged at that time on the other flank, I did not observe it until it was too late.

I have thus, sir, given you the particulars of an action which was certainly maintained with the greatest obstinacy and perseverance by both parties. The Indians manifested a ferocity uncommon even with them—to their savage fury our troops opposed that cool and deliberate valor which is characteristic of the christian soldier.

The most pleasing part of my duty (that of naming to you the corps and individuals who particularly distinguished themselves) is yet to be performed. There is, however, considerable difficulty in it—where merit was so common it is almost impossible to discriminate.

The whole of the infantry formed a small brigade under the immediate orders of colonel Boyd. The colonel throughout the action manifested equal zeal and bravery in carrying into execution my orders, in keeping the men to their posts and exhorting them to fight with valor. His brigade-major Clark, and his aid-de-camp George Croghan, Esq. were also very serviceably employed. Colonel Joseph Bartholomew, a very valuable officer, commanded under colonel Boyd the militia infantry; he was wounded early in the action, and his services lost to me. Major G. R. C. Floyd, the senior of the fourth United States regiment, commanded immediately the battalion of that regiment, which was in the front line; his conduct during the action was entirely to my satisfaction. Lieutenant-colonel Decker, who commanded the battalion of militia on the right of the rear line, preserved his command in good order; he was, however, but partially attacked. I have before mentioned to you that major-general Wells, of the fourth division of Kentucky militia, acted under my command as a major at the head of two companies of mounted volunteers; the general maintained the fame which he had already acquired in almost every campaign and in almost every battle which has been fought with the Indians since the settlement of Kentucky. Of the several corps, the fourth United States regiment and two small companies attached to it, were certainly the most conspicuous for undaunted valor. The companies commanded by captains Cook, Snelling and Barton, lieutenants Larebee, Peters, and Hawkins, were placed in situations where they could render most service and encounter most danger, and those officers eminently distinguished themselves. Captains Prescott and Brown performed their duty also entirely to my satisfaction, as did Posey's company of the seventh regiment, headed by lieutenant Albright. In short, sir, they supported the fame of American regulars, and I have never heard that a single individual was found out of the line of his duty. Several of the militia companies were in nowise inferior to the regulars. Spencer's, Geiger's, and Warwick's maintained their posts amidst a monstrous carnage, as indeed did Robb's after it was posted on the left flank; its loss of men (seventeen killed and wounded) and keeping its ground is sufficient proof of its firmness. Wilson's and Scott's companies charged with the regular troops and proved themselves worthy of doing so. Norris's company also behaved well; Hargrove's and Wilkin's companies were placed in a situation where they had no opportunity of distinguishing themselves, or I am satisfied they would have done it. This was the case with the squadron of dragoons also. After major Daveiss had received his wound, knowing it to be mortal, I promoted captain Parke to the majority, than whom there is no better officer.

My two aids-de-camp, majors Hurst and Taylor, with lieutenant Adams of the fourth regiment, the adjutant of the troops, afforded me the most essential aid, as well in the action as throughout the campaign.

The arrangements of captain Pratt in the quartermaster's department were highly judicious, and his exertions on all occasions, particularly in bringing off the wounded, deserve my warmest thanks. But in giving merited praise to the living let me not forget the gallant dead. Colonel Abraham Owen, commandant of the eighteenth Kentucky regiment, joined me a few days before the action as a private in captain Geiger's company; he accepted the appointment as volunteer aid-de-camp to me; he fell early in the action. The representatives of his state will inform you that she possessed not a better citizen nor a braver man. Major J. H. Daveiss was known as an able lawyer and a great orator; he joined me as a private volunteer, and on the recommendation of the officers of that corps, was appointed to command the third

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troop of dragoons. His conduct in that capacity justified their choice; never was there an officer possessed of more ardor and zeal to discharge his duty with propriety, and never one who would have encountered greater danger to purchase military fame. captain Baen, of the fourth United States regiment, was killed early in the action; he was unquestionably a good officer and valiant soldier. Captains Spencer and Warwick, and lieutenants McMahan and Berry, were all my particular friends; I have ever had the utmost confidence in their valor, and I was not deceived. Spencer was wounded in the head—he exhorted his men to fight valiantly—he was shot through both thighs, and fell, still continuing to encourage them—he was raised up and received a ball through his body, which put an immediate end to his existence! Warwick was shot immediately through the body: being taken to the surgery to be dressed, as soon as it was over (being a man of great bodily vigour and still able to walk) he insisted upon going back to head his company, although it was evident that he had but a few hours to live.

All these gentlemen, sir, captain Baen excepted, have left wives, and five of them large families of children; this is the case too with many of the privates among the militia who fell in the action or who have died since of their wounds. Will the bounty of their country be withheld from their helpless orphans, many of whom will be in the most destitute condition, and perhaps want even the necessaries of life? With respect to the number of Indians that were engaged against us, I am possessed of no data by which I can form a correct statement. It must, however, have been considerable, and perhaps not much inferior to our own; which, deducting the dragoons, who were unable to do us much service, was very little above seven hundred non-commissioned officers and privates; I am convinced there were at least six hundred. The prophet had three weeks before four hundred and fifty of his own proper followers. I am induced to believe that he was joined by a number of the lawless vagabonds who live on the Illinois river, as large trails were seen coming from that direction. Indeed, I shall not be surprised to find that some of those who professed the warmest friendship for us were arrayed against us—'tis certain that one of this description came out from the town and spoke to me the night before the action. The Patawatamie chief whom I mentioned to have been wounded and taken prisoner in my letter of the 8th inst., I left on the battle ground, after having taken all the care of him in my power. I requested him to inform those of his own tribe who had joined the prophet and Kickapoos and Winebagoes, that if they would immediately abandon the prophet and return to their own tribes, their past conduct would be forgiven, and that we would treat them as we formerly had done. He assured me that he would do so, and there was no doubt of their compliance. Indeed, he said, that he was certain that they would put the prophet to death. I think upon the whole that there will be no further hostilities: but of this I shall be enabled to give you some more certain information in a few days.

The troops left the battle ground on the 9th inst., it took every wagon to transport the wounded. We managed, however, to bring off the public property, although almost all the private baggage of the officers was necessarily destroyed.

It may perhaps be imagined, sir, that some means might have been adopted to have made a more earlier discovery of the approach of the enemy to our camp the morning of the 7th instant, but if I had employed two-thirds of the army as out-posts it would have been ineffectual, the Indians in such a night would have found means to have passed between them. Placed in the situation that we were, there is no other mode of avoiding a surprise, than by a chain of centinels so close together that the enemy cannot pass between without discovery. And having the army in such readiness that they can get to their alarm posts at a moment's warning. Our troops could not have been better prepared than they were, unless they had been kept under arms the whole night, as they lay with their accoutrements on, and their arms by their sides, and the moment they were up they were at their posts. If the centinels and the guard had done their duty, even the troops on the left flank would have been prepared to receive the Indians.

I have the honor to enclose you a correct return of the killed and wounded. The wounded suffered very much before their arrival here, but they are now comfortably fixed, and every attention has been and shall continue to be paid to them. Doctor

Foster is not only possessed of great professional merit, but is moreover a man of feeling and honor.

I am convinced, sir, that the Indians lost many more men than we did—they left from thirty-six to forty on the field. They were seen to take off not only the wounded but the dead. An Indian that *was killed and scalped* in the beginning of the action by one of our men, was found in a house in the town; several others were also found in the houses, and many graves which were fresh dug: one of them was opened and found to contain three dead bodies.

Our infantry used principally cartridges containing twelve buck shot which were admirably calculated for a night action.

I have before informed you, sir, that colonel Miller was prevented by illness from going on the expedition—he rendered essential service in the command of Fort Harrison; he is an officer of great merit.

There are so many circumstances which it is important for you to know, respecting the situation of this country that I have thought it best to commit this despatch to my aid-de-camp, major Taylor, who will have the honor of delivering it to you, and who will be able to give you more satisfaction than I could do by writing. Major Taylor (who is also one of our supreme judges) is a man of integrity and honor, and you may rely upon any statement he may make.

With the highest respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your humble servant.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

P. S. Not a man of ours was taken prisoner, of three scalps which were taken two of them were recovered."

The battle of Tippecanoe placed a complete check to the hostilities of the Indians in that quarter, and enabled governor Harrison to resume his civil duties; and on the meeting of the territorial legislature, in November, 1811, he addressed the members in the following speech, inserted in Niles, vol. i. p. 321.

"*Gentlemen of the legislative council, and*
Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

The execution of an order received from the President of the United States, at the head of a body of our troops, prevented me from meeting you at the time to which you were prorogued by my last proclamation. Although this circumstance may produce some personal inconvenience to you, and perhaps a little additional expense to the territory, it will not I am sure be regretted, when it is recollected that the result of the expedition which I had the honor to command is a complete victory over the hostile combination of Indians which had been formed by the Shawanese prophet. It is with equal pleasure and pride, gentlemen, that I have it in my power to inform you that in an action where undaunted valor was conspicuous in every corps, our own militia behaved in a manner to do credit to themselves as well as the territory.

The numerous duties which claim my attention at this time, gentlemen, will prevent me from giving my opinion upon such subjects as require legislative provision. The most important of these, however, you will find discussed at length in my former addresses. Permit me to recommend to you industry and concord in the discharge of your functions, and be assured of my cordial co-operation in every measure which may be calculated for the benefit of our constituents.

WM. H. HARRISON.

Vincennes, 19th Nov.

To his excellency WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, *governor and commander-in-chief in and over the Indiana territory.*

SIR—The house of representatives of the Indiana territory in their own name, and in behalf of their constituents, most cordially reciprocate the congratulations of your excellency on the glorious result of the late sanguinary conflict with the Shawanoe prophet, and the tribes of Indians confederated with him: when we see displayed in behalf of our country not only the consummate abilities of the general, but the heroism of the man; and where we take into view the benefits which must result to

that country, from those exertions; we cannot for a moment withhold our meed of applause.

We shall cordially and industriously endeavour to co-operate with you, sir, in such measures as may best comport with the immediate interests of our territory—and although we may lament the occasion which gave rise to the necessary delay of legislative business, yet we feel it to be our duty as patriots, as representatives, and as men, to submit without a murmur to any inconvenience which the good of our common country may require.

GEN. W. JOHNSON,
Speaker of the house of representatives.

Representatives Chamber,
November, 1811.

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

Believing as I do that the highest reward which a republican soldier can receive, is the approbation of his fellow-citizens, I cannot be otherwise than highly gratified at the applause which you have been pleased to bestow on my conduct as commander of the late expedition. It has ever been my wish, gentlemen, to deserve the confidence of your constituents. To promote their welfare and happiness, has been, for years, the great object of my cares, and if in the late action it had pleased the Almighty to seal with my life the victory, which was to ensure their safety, the sacrifice would have been cheerfully made.

WM. H. HARRISON."

The following resolutions were also passed by the legislature of Kentucky, and published in Niles, vol. i. p. 391.

LEGISLATURE OF KENTUCKY, Jan. 7, 1812.

Resolved, By the senate and house of representatives of the state of Kentucky, in the late campaign against the Indians upon the Wabash, governor Wm. Henry Harrison has behaved like a hero, a patriot, and a general; and that for his cool, deliberate, skilful and gallant conduct in the battle of Tippecanoe, he well deserves the warmest thanks of his country and the nation.

Resolved, That the governor of this state be requested to transmit a copy of the above resolution to governor Wm. Henry Harrison."

CHAPTER III.

GOVERNOR HARRISON APPOINTED A BRIGADIER-GENERAL IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY, BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES; AND MAJOR-GENERAL BY THE GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY, WITH THE COMMAND OF THE KENTUCKY TROOPS, &c.

IN August, 1812, governor Harrison was appointed a brigadier-general in the army of the United States, by president Madison, and major-general by the governor of the state of Kentucky, with the command of the Kentucky troops. The former appointment he refused to accept; but he resigned the government of the territory of Indiana and continued the campaign with the brave Kentuckians. On the 11th of September, 1812, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the north-western army, by president Madison.

The following paragraphs from Niles, in reference to his movements, &c., are interesting.

In vol. iii. p. 25, the editor of that work says—

"The governor of Kentucky, learning the critical situation of general Hull, determined to send a reinforcement of volunteers to general Payne, so as to make his whole force three thousand four hundred strong. He also appointed governor Harrison a major-general, to have the command of the Kentucky troops, by brevet, a procedure

extremely well calculated to give confidence to the army of that state in the field. Richard M. Johnson, a member of congress from Kentucky, proposed to raise six companies (five hundred men) of *mounted* infantry, volunteers, to march immediately for Detroit, and to trust to the liberality and justice of congress for indemnification. A meeting was to be held at Georgetown on the 31st ult.; and from the spirit of Kentucky, though the *proposition* was made only on the 25th of the same month, we venture to say that this body of men is in the field—perhaps at Urbanna, or beyond it. Major-general Harrison left Lexington on the 29th ult. to join the army in Ohio—Colonel Poague's regiment of five hundred mounted riflemen were prepared to march. The augmentation of the troops and the appointment of Harrison, was the last act of good old general Scott, as governor of Kentucky: his venerable fellow soldier who succeeded him, colonel Shelby, on coming into office, made a further augmentation of the troops; so that the whole force from Kentucky, marched to Ohio and the Indiana territory, will amount to six thousand men, in actual service. *These things will never be forgotten.*"

In the same volume, pp. 40. 57. 107. 154. 315, we find the annexed editorial notices:

"*Major-general Harrison was received with shouts of applause by the army of volunteers assembled in the state of Ohio.* We have full faith that he will do all that is expected of him. The troops are well supplied. It is stated that the whole body, six thousand strong, has marched towards Fort Wayne."

"Many detachments of volunteers are still marching from Kentucky to the frontiers, under the command of the much beloved Harrison. We confidently trust that glory will attend them."

"The British are making use of every means to defend themselves in Canada, and appear determined to dispute every inch of ground. The *surrender* at Detroit has given them great spirit and energy. On the other hand, gen. Harrison is by this time, in all probability, in Upper Canada, and due efforts are made to keep the forces in Lower Canada in check until the proper time arrives to pay that country a visit; a period not far distant, from present appearances.

Language fails when we attempt to speak of the people of Ohio and Kentucky as they deserve. Almost every man able to carry a musket seems willing to use it in defence of his country. More persons have marched from Kentucky than were wanted; and about twelve hundred have returned home severely mortified, but holding themselves in readiness for some future occasion. *At the call of their beloved Harrison, great numbers of mounted riflemen have marched to join him for an excursion of thirty or forty days, finding themselves with provisions.* These corps are designed to break up and destroy the Indian tribes, and lay waste their country. The deluded murderers have brought themselves to destruction—through British influence. Many private letters from the western country inform us that the late depredations of the savages have wrought the people into a fury of resentment and vengeance. They will exact a terrible guarantee for the future safety of the frontiers.

It was the original design of government that gen. Winchester, a very reputable gentleman and an old revolutionary officer, should have the command of the army, destined, in the first instance, for the relief of general Hull, and, since his surrender, intended to regain the ground lost, &c. In consequence of which, after his arrival at Fort Wayne, general Harrison on the 19th ult. took leave of the army in a very affectionate manner, and set out for the Indiana territory with a body of troops, to break up the settlements of the savages. BUT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, SEEING THE CONFIDENCE THAT THE WESTERN PEOPLE IN GENERAL REPOSED IN GEN. HARRISON, HAD APPOINTED HIM COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. The commission for this purpose reached him a few days after his resignation of it to general Winchester; and it *appears* he resumed it about the 23d of the same month at Fort Wayne, from whence a detachment of troops under general Winchester has marched to Fort Defiance, where it is said a large body of *allies*, three thousand strong, were collected. We are without particulars, but hope this report is true, believing it impossible they can escape Harrison and Winchester with their *mounted* riflemen, who amount to more than that number. Their whole force exceeds ten thousand men."

"Many pieces of cannon have been sent from the neighbourhood of Pittsburg for the north-western army. *In every preparation and arrangement we discover an invariable*

intention to do the business effectually. Harrison's measures will, at all times, secure him a communication with Ohio, in case the enemy's force brought against him is powerful enough to resist him, or to attempt to cut off his supplies, of which, however, there does not appear any probability. But 'caution is the parent of security.' We look for a very interesting detail from the general."

"General Harrison arrived at Chilicothe about the 26th ult. to consult with governor Meigs, it is stated, on business of importance. The Sciota Gazette informs us that he will not accept the commission of a brigadier-general in the United States army, but continue the campaign as major-general of the Kentucky quota, after which it is his intention to retire into private life. He has resigned the government of the Indiana Territory, in a very handsome letter to the secretary of state. We trust the services of this beloved man, *uniting in himself the entire confidence of the western people; whose prudence, patience, and perseverance have given security to the frontiers, threatened by the most formidable combinations of white and red savages that ever were known, will not be lost to his country.*

One hundred wagon loads of provisions have been sent from Erie to meet Harrison's army at the Rapids of the Miami. We see nothing in the west like going into winter quarters."

"We have the pleasure to learn that the patriotism of the western volunteers is steady, continued, and invincible. They cheerfully bear their privations without a murmur, and always ready, in season and out of season, to perform any duty required. They have no 'constitutional objections' against proceeding to Canada, but all pant for the time to arrive when humbled Malden shall atone for *surrendered* Detroit."

Extract of a letter to the editor of the "Register," vol. iii. p. 282.

Chilicothe, Dec. 22, 1812.

"Dear Sir—It is probable you are desirous to know what is going on in this quarter at this important period. General Harrison, who has lately removed his head-quarters from Franklinton to Delaware, is, it is said, about to proceed, and perhaps has already commenced his march to Sandusky, with a view, it is most probable, of concentrating the whole force of the north-western army, either at that place or at the Rapids of the Miami—most probably at the latter. The different divisions have been lying at different points for some time past. The left wing, composed of a regiment of regulars commanded by col. Wells, and the Kentucky volunteers, the whole under the command of gen. Winchester, is at the Rapids, to which place it lately proceeded from Fort Winchester, (late Fort Defiance.) The right wing is composed of the detachments from Pennsylvania and Virginia. That from Pennsylvania, under the command of brig. gen. Crooks, has been some time at Mansfield. The detachment from Virginia, commanded by brig. gen. Leftwick, has been lying at Delaware. The centre of the army is composed of Ohio volunteers and militia, under command of brig. gen. Tupper, and a regiment of regulars under command of col. Miller. Gen. Tupper's brigade is at Fort M'Arthur. The whole force will probably amount to seven or eight thousand. Such a force, principally brave, hardy '*backwoodsmen*,' COMMANDED BY THE WASHINGTON OF THE WEST—THE EXCELLENT, THE UNIVERSALLY BELOVED HARRISON, WILL BE ABLE TO ACCOMPLISH EVERY THING WHICH CAN BE EXPECTED OF THEM."

Proclamation of R. J. Meigs, governor of Ohio, Niles, vol. iii. p. 39.

"Whereas, the United States are now at war with Great Britain, whose forces are aided by savages of the most ferocious nature—and the frontiers of the state of Ohio are exposed to their cruelties and depredations, as well as to the machinatjons of traitors and spies—creating discontent among our citizens, and giving to our enemies information of our situation, force, and movements.

In order, therefore, as far as lays in our power, to prevent such cruelties, machinations, treachery, and spying,

I issue this my proclamation, exhorting the citizens and inhabitants of the state of Ohio to a strict observance of all their duties as such, requiring all military officers according to their rank, to be strict in their attention to discipline, arms, and order of all those under their command; and to hold themselves in constant readiness for active service.

Also, requiring all magistrates, conservators of the peace, and all civil officers and

others, to be vigilant in the apprehension and commitment of such traitors and spies, in order that they may be dealt with according to law. R. J. Meigs,
Governor of Ohio.

Piqua, September 2, 1812.

Fellow citizens,

At a moment like this, I appeal to your valor and patriotism.

Major-general Harrison will rendezvous a respectable force of Kentucky volunteers at Dayton, on the 15th instant, for a short expedition. Gen. Harrison desires to add to his troops any number of volunteers from the state of Ohio, who will serve on an expedition not exceeding thirty days. All those who will embrace this favorable opportunity of distinguishing themselves under an able commander, and of rendering the state of Ohio a valuable service, will, in their equipments and movements, follow the directions of general Harrison hereto subjoined. R. J. Meigs,
Governor of Ohio.

VOLUNTEERS WANTED!

Any number of volunteers, mounted, and prepared for active service, to continue for twenty-five or thirty days, will be accepted to rendezvous at the town of Dayton, on the Big Miami, on the 15th inst. It is expected that the volunteers will provide themselves with salt provisions and a proportion of biscuits. Those who are unable to provide themselves will be furnished if possible.

Those brave men who may give their services on this occasion, may be assured, that an *opportunity for distinguishing themselves will be afforded*—I shall command the expedition in person, and the number of troops will be entirely adequate to the object proposed.

I wish also to hire a number of substantial horses. Fifty cents per day will be allowed for each horse which is provided with a saddle and bridle.

Those patriotic citizens, who are unable to afford their personal assistance, will render essential service to their country by furnishing the horses—which must be delivered in Dayton on the 14th instant, to a person who will be authorized to receive and receipt for them. William Henry Harrison."

Extract from the reply of governor Meigs to the memorial of the citizens of Chilicothe, Ohio, on the subject of protecting the frontiers. Niles, vol. iii. p. 61.

"At Greenville, blockhouses and a stockade are forming. Stations will be preserved at Lormies and St. Mary's. On the Urbana route to Maume, Fort Manary and Fort M'Arthur are reinforced and the works enlarged by the erection of additional blockhouses and piquets. At Urbana, general Tupper has nearly eight hundred six-months' troops, in good order; which, if offensive operations should be resumed, will be placed under the order of general Harrison—if defensive only, they may be placed at different stations, to cover the frontiers. Governor Harrison has been appointed major-general by brevet, by the executive of Kentucky, and is now marching to this place five regiments of infantry, one of riflemen, one of dragoons, and one of mounted riflemen, making in the aggregate more than four thousand men. To these will be added colonel Well's regiment of the United States troops, now under the command of general Harrison, he being brigadier-general in the service of the United States. These forces will not be idle; they will soon engage the attention of the Indians from our frontiers; and it is highly fortunate, that the forces are to be commanded by general Harrison, in whom is united the confidence of the inhabitants of the west."

Extract from the general orders of general Harrison in relation to colonel Campbell's heroic expedition against the Massassineway villages, December, 1812. See Niles, vol. iii. p. 331.

"The general cannot pass by the opportunity that is afforded him, by bestowing deserved commendation upon a detachment of his army, without recurring to the merits of the other corps. They have not had, as yet, their wishes gratified in meeting the enemy; but they have, nevertheless, performed hard service under great deprivations. The Ohio brigades are exerting themselves with vigor and effect in perfecting their discipline, and performing some works requiring great labor. Those from Virginia and Pennsylvania are vieing with each other in the path of duty and disci-

pline, to a degree rarely equalled and never excelled. Since their arrival at Sandusky, a proper sense of subordination everywhere prevails, and the infamous principle, that the claims of patriotism would be satisfied by marching to the lines and looking at the enemy, is so completely exploded, that the general believes his authority would be scarcely sufficient to protect from the vengeance of the soldiery the wretch who should have the temerity to insult them by suggesting it. The general is happy in believing that *his own Kentuckians* are not behind the other corps of the army in the race of patriotism and duty. He has heard with a satisfaction that he cannot find words to express, that the brigade with which he first took the field, and whose discipline has been confirmed and extended under the immediate direction of his worthy second, general Winchester, have borne with fortitude and cheerfulness an unexampled privation of a principal article of the ration. The general records the circumstances for the edification and example of the rest of the army."

CHAPTER IV.

DEFEAT OF GENERAL WINCHESTER AT THE RIVER RAISIN, ON THE 22D OF JANUARY, 1813, SIEGE OF FORT MEIGS, &c.

The defeat of general Winchester and the savage cruelties inflicted upon the American prisoners by the Indians, caused a feeling of deep despondency throughout the country. But, said Niles, vol. iii. p. 381. "Amidst the gloom that these details present, *we have cause to rejoice in the hope that Harrison and the brave spirits that accompany him, are rather stimulated than daunted by them—panting to avenge the bloody deed.* And we confidently trust that his ulterior objects will rather be accelerated by the increased ardour of his troops, than retarded by this unfortunate affair."

The following is general Harrison's account of the melancholy affair, contained in a letter from him to governor Meigs, dated, *Head-quarters*, Carrying river, 24th of January, 1813. Niles, vol. iii. p. 381.

"Dear Sir,—The event of which I expressed so much apprehension in my letter to you, from Lower Sandusky, has happened. The detachment under col. Lewis was reinforced by general Winchester with two hundred and fifty men. He attended it, and took the command at the river Raisin on the 20th, and on the 22d he was attacked at reveille, by a considerable British and Indian force with six pieces of artillery: the troops being surprised, and the ground unfavorable, had but little opportunity of forming to advantage. They were surrounded and broke in twenty or twenty-five minutes. A major and captain and about twenty-five privates were all that effected their escape.

I had but three hundred and sixty men with me about three miles above the Rapids, where the news first reached me. I immediately ordered them to prepare to march; and set out with my staff to overtake a detachment of three hundred men that had set out that morning for the river Raisin. I overtook them at the distance of six miles, but before the other troops (colonel Andrews' Ohio regiment) came up, it was ascertained that the defeat was complete, and it was the unanimous opinion of generals Payne, Perkins, and the field officers, that we should return. A detachment to the amount of one hundred and seventy of the most active men, was sent forward with directions to proceed as far as possible to assist those who were fortunate enough to escape; there were however but few, the snow was so deep that the fugitives were entirely exhausted in running a few miles; those that did get off effected it by turning down to the lake and secreting themselves. I believe there were not more than forty or fifty that got a mile from the scene of action, and the greater part of them were overtaken.

Never were the affairs of any army in a more prosperous situation than ours before the unfortunate step of marching the detachment to the river Raisin; it was made not only without any authority from me, but in opposition to my views. Every thing, in my power was, however, done to prevent any disaster, and reinforcements were pushed on with as much rapidity as possible; major Cotgreve's battalion, the first

in the army, was within fourteen miles of the scene of action, when he heard of the defeat, and three hundred regular troops were also on their way. I remained at the Rapids with one regiment only. In justice to general Winchester, I must observe, that I have understood that the measure (marching the detachment to the Raisin river) was forced upon him by his officers; but, whatever may have been the cause, and however great the calamity, both as it regards the nation and individuals, it is certainly not irreparable. By the unanimous advice of the general and field officers, I took this position yesterday, for the purpose of forcing a junction with the troops in the rear, and to cover the very valuable convoy of artillery and stores that are coming from Upper Sandusky. Unless the weather is very unfavorable, I shall be at the Rapids again in four or five days, and shall certainly give the enemy an opportunity of measuring their strength with us in another contest. For myself, I feel no doubt as to the result, and if I can judge of the disposition of the troops, from the manner in which they received an address from me yesterday, a desire of avenging their lost companions and retrieving their country's disgrace is the predominant passion that occupies their minds.

I know not what proportion the prisoners of general Winchester's late troops bear to the killed; some of the French who have come in, report the latter at five hundred and others at eight hundred. The detachment amounted to near one thousand.

I am, with much regard, dear sir, your humble servant, WM. H. HARRISON.
His excellency governor Meigs."

We next find general Harrison at the Rapids (of the Miami.) A letter to the editor of the "Register" (vol. iii. p. 408) says:—

"The general had taken a strong position, fortified his camp, and planted his artillery. The term of service of two brigades of Ohio militia having expired, it is intimated he may wait for reinforcements, from that state and Kentucky, now on the way to join him. FROM ALL THAT WE SEE OF HARRISON, WE TRUST HE WILL PUT IN A GOOD CLAIM TO THE BRILLIANT TITLE THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY HE IS IN DELIGHT TO GIVE HIM—'THE WASHINGTON OF THE WEST.' It is stated that three persons, sent by him with a flag of truce to the officer commanding the enemy, have been murdered.

From the accounts we have of the success of the recruiting service in all parts of the United States, there are the strongest reasons to believe a number of regulars sufficient for all the purposes required will be had by the time they are wanted. Various detachments are about to proceed to the Niagara frontier, with a view, no doubt, to co-operate with general Harrison."

Extract of letter to the editor of the "Register," dated Chilicothe, February 18, 1813, vol. iv. p. 13.

"General Harrison having been informed that a large body of Indians were assembled at Presqu'isle, marched from his camp at the Rapids on the 9th inst. at the head of a detachment of his army, in order to attack them. Upon the arrival of the detachment at Presqu'isle, they found that the Indians had decamped. Our troops pursued them until they came within eight miles of the River Raisin; when finding that they could not come up with them, and being exhausted, they returned to camp. *Such was the ardour of the troops to overtake the enemy, that they marched sixty miles in twenty-one hours.*"

General Harrison returned to the Rapids and built a fort, which he called Fort Meigs, but, at about this time the enemies of the country got up a very pretty little account of his *capture*, with a view to have an effect upon the *New Hampshire election!* which was then about to take place. On the 16th of March, 1813, he repaired to Chilicothe to hasten the reinforcements for the north-western army; from thence he proceeded to Cincinnati on the same patriotic duty. On the 2d of April, in the same year, he left Cincinnati for Fort Meigs, and on the 26th, that fort was besieged by the British and Indians.

"On that day," says a letter to William Creighton, jun. esq. (Niles, vol. iv. p. 191.) "the enemy's columns showed themselves opposite to Fort Meigs. On the 27th, some Indians crossed the river in the rear of the fort. On the 1st, 2d and 3d of May, the enemy opened their batteries and kept up an incessant and tremendous fire, from five and a half and eight and a half inch howitzers, one twenty-four pounder and several lighter

pieces. The shells and balls, during that period, showered in the fort, but little execution was done: only eight or ten men killed, during that period in the fort. Silas M'Culloch, a brave and gallant man, is among the slain. On the night of the 3d, the enemy erected a gun and mortar battery, on this side of the river, within two hundred and fifty yards of our lines, but were soon forced to take a more respectful distance. About 12 o'clock on the night of the 4th, an officer arrived in a boat from general Clay, to inform the general of his approach, and that he would reach Fort Meigs in about two hours.

General Harrison determined on a general sally, and sent an officer to general Clay, directing him to land eight hundred men some short distance above, to attack and carry the enemy's batteries, spike the cannon and destroy the artillery. General Clay was unfortunately delayed longer than he expected in passing the Rapids, and the detachment destined to make the attack did not reach the landing until near nine o'clock —this, however, did not prevent them from making the attempt, and never was anything more completely successful; the four batteries were immediately taken possession of, and their defenders driven off, and their cannon spiked. The work was done, but that confidence which always attends militia when successful, proved their ruin. Although there was time sufficient to return to the boats before a reinforcement arrived to the enemy, they remained upon the ground, in spite of the repeated calls which were made from the fort to bring them back to their boats, and suffered themselves to be amused and drawn into the woods by some feint skirmishing, while the British troops and an immense quantity of Indians were brought up; a severe action then took place. The British immediately intercepted the retreat of our men to the plain and the river, where they would have been under cover of our cannon: about one hundred and fifty only out of nearly eight hundred effected their escape to the boats. When the balance of general Clay's force made its appearance and attempted to land above the garrison, their flank was attacked by a large body of Indians.

General Harrison immediately ordered out a detachment consisting of a part of the 19th United States regiment, about one hundred twelve-months' volunteers and some militia; they however succeeded in driving the enemy entirely off, pursuant to the plan general Harrison had formed.

An attack was then made upon the batteries on this side of the river, conducted by colonel Miller, of the 19th regiment, with part of his regiment, the aforesaid volunteers, and the few militia; this attempt was successful. The enemy were driven from their works—a number killed, and two British officers and forty-one privates brought into camp.

This attack was intended to be simultaneous with that on the other side, and it was nearly so. Notwithstanding the loss sustained by the Kentucky militia, the events of the day have been honorable to the American arms."

Copy of a letter from general Wm. H. Harrison to the Secretary of War.

"*Head-Quarters, Camp Meigs, 9th May*, 1813.

SIR—I have the honor to inform you that the enemy having been several days making preparations for raising the seige of this post, accomplished this day the removal of their artillery from the opposite bank, and about 12 o'clock left their encampment below, were soon embarked and out of sight. I have the honor to enclose you an agreement entered into between general Proctor and myself for the discharge of the prisoners of the Kentucky militia in his possession, and for the exchange of the officers and men of the regular troops which were respectively possessed by us. My anxiety to get the Kentucky troops released as early as possible, induced me to agree to the dismission of all the prisoners I had, although there was not as many of ours in general Proctor's possession. The surplusage is to be accounted for, and an equal number of ours released from their parole, whenever the government may think proper to direct it.

The two actions on this side the river on the 5th, were infinitely more important and more honorable to our arms, than I had at first conceived. In the sortie made upon the left flank, captain Waring's company of the 19th regiment, a detachment of twelve-months' volunteers under major Alexander, and three companies of Kentucky militia under colonel Boswell, defeated at least double the number of Indians and British militia.

The sortie on the right was still more glorious; the British batteries in that direction were defended by the grenadier and light infantry companies of the 41st regiment, amounting to two hundred effectives and two companies of militia, flanked by a host of Indians. The detachment sent to attack this consisted of all the men off duty belonging to the companies of Croghan and Bradford of the 17th regiment, Langham, Elliott's (late Graham's) and Waring's of the 19th, about eighty of major Alexander's volunteers, and a single company of Kentucky militia under captain Sebry, amounting in the whole to not more than three hundred and forty. Yet the event of the action was not a moment doubtful, and had not the British troops been covered in their retreat by their allies, the whole of them would have been taken.

It is not possible for troops to behave better than ours did throughout—all the officers exerted themselves to execute my orders, and the enemy who had a full view of our operations from the opposite shore, declared that they had never seen so much work performed in so short a time.

To all the commandants of corps I feel particular obligations. These were colonel Miller of the 19th infantry, colonel Mills of the Ohio militia, major Stoddard of the artillery, major Ball of the dragoons, and major Johnson of the Kentucky militia. Captain Gratiot of the engineers having been for a long time much indisposed, the task of fortifying this post devolved on captain Wood. It could not have been placed in better hands. Permit me to recommend him to the president, and to assure you that any mark of his approbation bestowed on captain Wood, would be highly gratifying to the whole of the troops, who witnessed his arduous exertions.

From major Hukill, acting inspector-general, my aid-de-camp, major Graham, lieutenant O'Fallon, who has done the duty of assistant adjutant-general in absence of major Adams, and my volunteer aid-de-camp John Johnson, esq., I received the most useful assistance.

I have the honor to enclose you a list of the killed and wounded during the seige and in the two sorties; those of the latter were much greater than I had at first expected.

Want of sleep and exposure to the continued rains which have fallen almost every day for some time past, renders me incapable of mentioning many interesting particulars; amongst others a most extraordinary proposition of general Proctor, on the subject of the Indians within our boundary—this shall form the subject of a communication to be made to-morrow or the next day, and for which I shall provide a safer conveyance than that which carries this. All the prisoners and deserters agree in saying, that the information given to major Stoddard by Ryland, of the British having launched a sloop of war this spring is incorrect, and the most of them say that the one which is now building will not be launched for many weeks.

I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your humble servant.

Hon. John Armstrong, Secretary of War. WM. HENRY HARRISON.

P. S.—Captain Price of the regiment of light artillery, and the twentieth regulars, prisoners with general Proctor, were taken on the N. W. side of the river, with the Kentucky militia. We had no prisoners taken on this side during the siege."

"*Head-quarters, Fort Meigs, 9th May*, 1813.

GENERAL ORDERS.—The information received by the general, and the movements of the enemy indicating their having abandoned the siege of this post, the general congratulates his troops on having completely foiled their foes and put a stop to that career of victory which has hitherto attended their arms. He cannot find words to express his sense of the good conduct of the troops of every description and of every corps, as well in maintaining and returning the heavy fire of the enemy, as for their assiduity and patience in the performance of those laborious duties which the occasion called for. Where merit was so general—indeed, almost universal—it is difficult to discriminate. The general cannot, however, omit to mention the names of those whose situation gave them an opportunity of being more particularly useful. From the long illness of captain Gratiot, of the corps of engineers, the arduous and important duties of fortifying the camp devolved on captain Wood, of that corps. In assigning to him the first palm of merit, as far as it relates to the transactions within the works, the general is convinced that his decision will be awarded by every indi-

vidual in camp who witnessed his indefatigable exertions, his consummate skill in providing for the safety of every point, and in foiling every attempt of the enemy, and his undaunted bravery in the performance of his duty in the most exposed situations. An unfortunate wound in the commencement of the siege deprived the general, after that time, of the able services of major Stoddard, of the artillery, whose zeal and talents had been eminently useful. Captain Gratiot, in the remission of a severe illness, took charge of a battery, and managed it with ability and effect. Captain Cushing, of the artillery, and captain Hall, of the seventeenth infantry, (but doing duty with the former corps) were extremely active and attentive to their post. Colonel Miller and major Todd, of the nineteenth United States infantry; majors Ball, of the dragoons, Sodwick and major Ritzer of the Ohio militia, and major Johnson of the Kentucky militia, rendered the most important services. To each of the above gentlemen, as well as to each captain, subaltern, non-commissioned officer and private of their respective commands, the general gives his thanks and expresses his warmest approbation; also to adjutant Brown, Mr. Peters, conductor of artillery; Mr. Lion, principal artificer; Mr. Timberlee, and to sergeants Henderson, Tommes and Meldrum, who severally had charge of batteries and block-houses. The battery managed by sergeant Henderson was, as the enemy confessed, managed with peculiar efficacy and effect with respect to the sorties which were made on the 5th inst. The subsequent information which has been received from the prisoners, has given the gallant troops which were engaged on those occasions additional claims upon the gratitude of their general. It is ascertained that in both instances the enemy far out-numbered our troops. The general gives his thanks to brigadier-general Clay, for the promptitude with which the detachment of his brigade were landed, and the assiduity shown by him in forming them for the attack on the left. To colonel Boswell and major Fletcher, for their gallantry and good conduct in leading them in the charge made on the enemy, and to captains Dudley, Simmons and Medcalf, the subalterns, non-commissioned officers and privates, for the distinguished valor with which they defeated the enemy. The general has in the order of the 6th inst. expressed his sense of the conduct of the regular troops and volunteers, which were engaged in the sorties on the left flank, but he omitted to mention captain Sebry's company of Kentucky militia, whose gallantry was not surpassed by that of any of the companies which fought by their side. The Pittsburgh Blues, led by lieutenant M'Gee, in the illness of their gallant captain sustained the reputation which they had acquired at Massassineway. The Petersburg volunteers and lieutenant Drum's detachment, discovered equal intrepidity. To the detachments from the seventeenth and nineteenth United States' regiments under their respective commanders, captains Croghan, Bradford, Langham, Elliot, Nering, the honorable task was assigned of storming the British batteries, defended by two hundred British grenadiers and light infantry, flanked by a host of Indians and two companies of Canadian militia. Colonel Miller speaks in the highest terms of the captains before mentioned, and lieutenants Campbell, Gwyn, Lee, Kercheval and Rees, and of ensigns Shep, Hawkins, Harrison, Mitchell and Stockton. The general requests colonel Miller, major Todd, and each of the officers above named, together with all the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers who were engaged on the 5th instant to accept his thanks. The general is under the highest obligation to his staff for their conduct, as well in the action of the 5th as for the assistance he received from them throughout the siege. Major Hukill, the acting inspector-general, distinguished himself by his assiduity in forwarding the part of our works which was most necessary, and which was most exposed to the fire of the enemy. From major Graham, his aid-de-camp, his volunteer aid-de-camp J. Johnson, esq., and from lieutenant O'Fallon, acting assistant adjutant-general, as well as from the deputy quarter-master Mr. Eubank, he received the greatest assistance. It rarely occurs that a general has to complain of the excessive ardor of his men, yet such appears always to be the case whenever the Kentucky militia are engaged. It is indeed the source of all their misfortunes. They appear to think that valor alone can accomplish anything. The general is led to make this remark from the conduct of captain Dudley's company of the regiment, as he has understood, that that gallant officer was obliged to turn his espontoon against his own company to oblige them to desist from a further pursuit of the enemy, in compliance with an order from the general. Such temerity although not so disgraceful, is scarcely less fatal than cow-

ardice. And in the instance above, had it been persisted in, would have given a different result to the action, as the whole of the enemy's force which were placed near the batteries would have been precipitated upon the rear of our detachment. The pursuit being stopped, allowed time for a new disposition under cover of our cannon, and the enemy's batteries were attacked and carried without any difficulty.

(A Copy) JOHN O'FALLON,
Acting assistant adjutant-general.

(CIRCULAR.)

Lower Sandusky, Camp Resolution, May 12, 1813.

To all Volunteers of the State of Ohio, on their march to Fort Meigs.

The British and their barbarian allies have abandoned the siege of Fort Meigs.

It is fortunate for the savages that they retired before your arrival at the point of destination.—From the zeal, promptitude, and perseverance which has animated all those free and brave men, who have marched with, followed, and are following me, I entertain the belief, that we should have drove our red enemies from the state of Ohio —but they have fled. General Harrison, I am pleased to inform you, is in camp, adjoining. Return to your homes;—I thank you. The frontiers shall be safe.

R. J. MEIGS, governor of Ohio.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head-Quarters, N. W. Army, Franklinton, May 16, 1813.

The commanding general has observed with the warmest gratitude, the astonishing exertions which have been made by his excellency governor Meigs, and the general and other militia officers of this state, in collecting and equipping a body of troops for the relief of Fort Meigs; but the efforts of these gentlemen would have been unavailing if they had not been seconded by the patriotic ardor of every description of citizens; which has induced them to leave their homes at a most critical season of the year, regardless of every consideration, but that of rendering service to their country. The general found the road from Lower Sandusky literally covered with men—and amongst them many of those who had shared in the toils and dangers of the revolutionary war, and from whom, of course, there existed no legal claims for military service. The general has every reason to believe that similar efforts have been made in Kentucky. He offers to all these brave men from both states his sincere acknowledgments, and is happy to inform them, that there is at present no necessity for their longer continuance in the field. The enemy has fled with precipitation from Fort Meigs; and that fort is in a much better situation to resist an attack, than when the late siege commenced.

The quarter-master and commissaries are directed to furnish the troops of every description upon their return, with provisions and forage in the same manner as the troops which have been called regularly into service.

By the general,
RD. GRAHAM, aid-de-camp

Copy of a despatch from major-general William H. Harrison, to the secretary at war, dated Head-Quarters, Lower Sandusky, May 13, 1813.

SIR—Having ascertained that the enemy (Indians as well as British) had entirely abandoned the neighbourhood of the Rapids, I left the command of camp Meigs with general Clay, and came here last night. It is with the greatest satisfaction I inform you, sir, that I have every reason to believe, that the loss of the Kentucky troops in killed on the north side of the river does not exceed fifty. On the 10th and 11th instant I caused the ground which was the scene of the action, and its environs, to be carefully examined, and after the most diligent search forty-five bodies only of our men were discovered—amongst them was the leader of the detachment, captain Dudley. No other officer of note fell in the action. I have strong reason to believe that a considerable number of the Kentuckians effected their retreat up the river to Fort Winchester. General Proctor did not furnish me with a return of the prisoners in his possession, although repeatedly promised. His retreat was as precipitate as it could properly be, leaving a number of cannon ball, a new elegant sling-carriage for cannon, and other valuable articles. The night before his departure two persons that

were employed in the British gun-boats (Americans by birth) deserted to us. The information they gave me was very interesting—they say that the Indians, of which there were from sixteen hundred to two thousand, left the British the day before their departure in a high state of dissatisfaction, from the great loss which they had sustained in the several engagements of the 5th, and the failure of the British in accomplishing their promise of taking the post at the Rapids. From the account given by these men, my opinion is confirmed of the great superiority of the enemy which were defeated by our troops in the two sallies made on the 5th instant. That led by colonel Miller did not exceed three hundred and fifty men, and it is very certain that they defeated two hundred British regulars, one hundred and fifty militia, and four or five hundred Indians. That American regulars (although they were raw recruits) and such men as compose the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Petersburg Virginia volunteers, should behave well, is not to be wondered at—but that a company of militia should maintain its ground against four times its numbers, as did captain Sebry's of the Kentucky, is truly astonishing. These brave fellows were at length, however, entirely surrounded by Indians, and would have been entirely cut off, but for the gallantry of lieutenant Gwynne of the nineteenth regiment, who, with part of captain Elliott's company, charged the enemy and released the Kentuckians. I inclose you a list of the killed and wounded during the whole siege. It is considerably larger than I had supposed it would be when I last wrote to you—but it is satisfactory to know that they did not bleed uselessly—but in the course of successful exertions. The return does not embrace those who fell on the north-west side of the Miami.

You will also receive herewith a monthly return of the troops at camp Meigs for the last month; the communication with the other posts being cut off, the returns were not received. A copy of general Clay's report to me of the manner of his executing my order for the attack on the enemy's batteries, is likewise forwarded, by which it will be seen that my intentions were perfectly understood, and the great facility with which they might have been executed is apparent to every individual who witnessed the scene. Indeed the cannon might have been spiked, the carriages cut to pieces, the magazine destroyed, and the retreat effected to the boats without the loss of a man, as none were killed in taking the batteries, so complete was the surprise.

An extensive open plain intervenes between the river and the hill upon which the batteries of the enemy were placed; this plain was raked by four of our eighteen pounders, a twelve and a six. The enemy, even before their guns were spiked, could not have brought one to bear on it. So perfectly secured was their retreat that one hundred and fifty men who came off effected it without loss, and brought off some of the wounded, one of them upon the backs of his comrades. The Indians followed them to the woods, but dared not enter into the plain.

I am unable to form a correct estimate of the enemy's force. The prisoners varied much in their accounts; those who made them least, stated the regulars at five hundred and fifty, and militia at eight hundred; but the numbers of Indians were beyond comparison greater than have ever been brought into the field before; numbers arrived after the seige commenced. I have caused their camps on the south-east side of the river to be particularly examined, and the general opinion is, that there could not have been fewer on that side than one thousand or twelve hundred; they were indeed the efficient force of the enemy.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 14th, 18th, and 28th ult. and 4th instant.

I am sorry to inform you that major Stoddard died the night before I left the Rapids, of a lock-jaw, produced by a slight wound from a fragment of a shell which struck him on the thigh. Several have died in this way from their great and unavoidable exposure to the cold; but perhaps there never were so many instances of desperate wounds being likely to do well.

The gallant captain Bradford will recover.

I shall go from here to Upper Sandusky, and shall take my station at Delaware or Franklinton, until the troops are assembled. General Clay who commands at the Rapids, is a man of capacity and entirely to be relied on.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your humble servant.

WM. HENRY HARRISON.

The hon. John Armstrong, Secretary at War."

In some editorial comments upon the glorious events detailed above, the editor of the Register said:

"We now begin to see the fruition of our hopes in the gallant exertions of the western people and their beloved chieftain Harrison, whose official despatch, inserted below, will warm the heart of every American. The bonds of the unholy alliance between the British and the savages received a sensible blow in the capture and destruction of the stores at York; and Harrison, at the scalp-collecting Malden, will sever the barbarous tie between the '*defenders of the faith*,' and the *murderers of the wounded*. The frontier will soon be relieved of the lurking savage and more wicked English, and Harrison's brave force be able to operate with that effect we have hoped, and at all times, believed it would. But the deeds recorded are the best commentary on the valor of the west."

CHAPTER V.

THE PETTICOAT SLANDER—NOBLE REPLY TO GENERAL PROCTOR'S INSOLENT DEMAND TO SURRENDER FORT MEIGS—BATTLE OF LOWER SANDUSKY—CAPTURE OF MALDEN.

We have now arrived at the circumstances which gave rise to the "*Petticoat story;*" one of the most base and unprincipled slanders ever circulated against a brave and honored patriot, and which would have secured to the author all the honors of the "*second section*," if he had originated it during "The second War of Independence."

The true version of the story is as follows:

The following paragraph, says Niles, vol. iv. p. 238, is from the Chilicothe Fredonian of June, 1813. "The fact is positively stated, and, in what has really happened, we have strong collateral proofs of its verity. But it is of a nature so important that the testimony in support of it ought to be known to the world, that such a horrid contract may not rest on a newspaper paragraph. We hope the respectable editor of the 'Fredonian' will favor us in this respect. 'It is a fact no less dishonorable to the British nation, than true, that general Proctor, in order to induce general Tecumseh to join him with his forces in the late attack on Fort Meigs, agreed that general Harrison *should be delivered up to the Indians, to be disposed of as they should think proper.*"

On the 21st of June, in the same year, general Harrison held a council with the chiefs of the Delaware, Shawanoe, Wyandot, and Seneca tribes of Indians, to the number of about fifty. "In the general's *talk*," said the *Franklin Chronicle* of that date, (Niles, vol. iv. p. 313,) "he observed, that he had been induced to call them together from certain circumstances having come to his knowledge, which led him to suspect the fidelity of some of the tribes, who had manifested a disposition to join the enemy, in case they succeeded in capturing Fort Meigs. That a crisis had arrived which demanded that all the tribes who had heretofore remained neutral, should take a decided stand either for or against us; that the president wished no false friends, and that it was only in adversity that real friends can be distinguished; that the proposal of general Proctor to exchange the Kentucky prisoners for the friendly tribes within our borders, indicated that he had given them to understand that those tribes were willing to raise the tomahawk against us; and that in order to give the United States a guarantee of their good dispositions, the friendly tribes should either move, with their families into the settlements, or their warriors should accompany him in the ensuing campaign, and fight for the United States. To this proposal the chief and warriors unanimously agreed; and observed that they had long been anxious for an opportunity to fight for the Americans.

We cannot recollect the precise remarks that were made by the chiefs who spoke, but *Tarhe*, (the Crane,) who is the principal of the Wyandots, and the oldest Indian in the Western Wilds, appeared to represent the whole assembly, and professed in the name of the friendly tribes, the most indissoluble attachment for the American government, and a determination to adhere to the treaty of Greenville.

The general has promised to let the several tribes know when he should want their services; and further cautioned them, that all who went with him must conform to *his* mode of warfare; not to kill or injure old men, women, children, nor prisoners. That, by this means, we should be able to ascertain whether the British tell the truth when they say, that they are not able to prevent Indians from such horrid cruelty; for if the Indians under him (general Harrison) would obey his commands and refrain from acts of barbarism, it would be very evident that the hostile Indians could be easily restrained by *their* commanders. The general then informed the chiefs of the agreement made by Proctor, to deliver him to Tecumseh in case the British succeeded in taking Fort Meigs; and promised them that if *he* should be successful, he would deliver Proctor into their hands; *on condition* that they should do him no other harm than to *put a petticoat on him*—'for,' said he, 'none but a *coward* or a *squaw* would kill a prisoner.'

The council broke up in the afternoon; and the Indians departed the next day for their respective towns."

We append the following noble and modest reply to Proctor's insolent demand to surrender Fort Meigs. It is recorded in Niles, vol. iv. p. 260.

"We are authorized to state, (says a Cincinnati paper,) by an officer of general Harrison's staff, that the paragraph which appeared in the late Chilicothe Fredonian, relatively to the answer which was given by the general to the demand of his surrender to general Proctor, is not correct. The answer there attributed to the general, was made by a soldier of our army, who being upon the bank of the river with some others, a British soldier called to them and observed, that they 'had better hang out the white flag and surrender.' The American answered, 'general Hull has not yet arrived; until he comes you may save yourselves the trouble of asking for a surrender.' The conversation which took place between general Harrison and major Chambers, of the British army, who was sent by general Proctor to demand the surrender, was as nearly as can be recollected, as follows:

Major Chambers—General Proctor has directed me to demand the surrender of this post. He wishes to spare the effusion of blood.

General Harrison—The demand, under present circumstances, is a most extraordinary one. As general Proctor did not send me a summons to surrender on his first arrival, I had supposed that he believed me determined to do my duty. His present message indicates an opinion of me that I am at a loss to account for.

Major Chambers—General Proctor could never think of saying any thing to wound your feelings, sir. The character of general Harrison, as an officer, is well known. General Proctor's force is very respectable, and there is with him a larger body of Indians than have ever before been embodied.

General Harrison—I believe I have a very correct idea of general Proctor's force, it is not such as to create the least apprehension for the result of the contest, whatever shape he may be pleased hereafter to give to it. Assure the general, however, that he will never have this post *surrendered* to him upon any terms. *Should it fall into his hands, it will be in a manner calculated to do him more honor, and to give him larger claims upon the gratitude of his government, than any capitulation could possibly do.*"

The following is the official account of the circumstances connected with the investment of Lower Sandusky, which general Harrison's enemies have endeavored to pervert to his disadvantage; but from the letter of the gallant colonel Croghan, and the certificates of general *Cass*, (formerly secretary of war and now minister to *France*,) it will be seen that his conduct on that occasion was dictated by military wisdom and a due regard to the circumstances and situation of the enemy.

Copy of a letter from general Harrison to the Secretary of War, inserted in Niles, vol. iv. p. 388.

"*Head-Quarters, Seneca Town, Aug.* 4, 1813.

SIR—In my letter of the 1st inst. I did myself the honor to inform you that one of my scouting parties had just returned from the lake shore, and had discovered, the day before, the enemy in force near the mouth of the Sandusky bay. The party had not

passed Lower Sandusky two hours before the advance, consisting of Indians, appeared before the fort, and in half an hour after a large detachment of British troops; and in the course of the night they commenced a cannonading against the fort with three six-pounders and two howitzers; the latter from gun-boats. The firing was partially answered by major Croghan, having a six-pounder, the only piece of artillery.

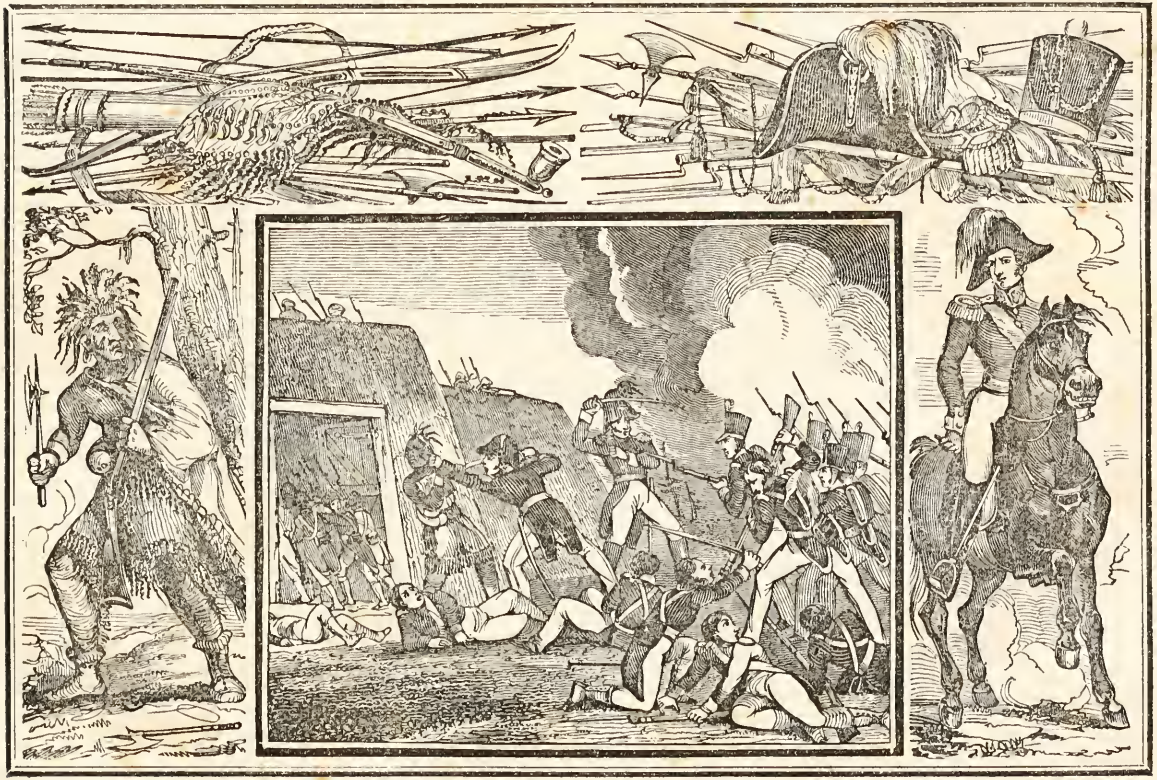
The fire of the enemy was continued at intervals, during the 2d inst., until about half after 5 P. M. when finding that their cannon made little impression upon the works, and having discovered my position here, and apprehending an attack, an attempt was made to carry the place by storm. Their troops were formed in two columns, lieutenant-colonel Short headed the principal one, composed of the light and battalion companies of the 41st regiment. This gallant officer conducted his men to the brink of the ditch, under the most galling and destructive fire from the garrison, and leaping into it was followed by a considerable part of his own and the light company; at this moment a masked porthole was suddenly opened, and a six-pounder, with an half load of powder and a double charge of leaden slugs, at the distance of thirty feet, poured destruction upon them, and killed or wounded nearly every man who had entered the ditch. In vain did the British officers exert themselves to lead on the balance of the column; it retired in disorder under a shower of shot from the fort, and sought safety in the adjoining woods. The other column, headed by the grenadiers had also retired, after having suffered from the muskets of our men, to an adjacent ravine. In the course of the night, the enemy, with the aid of their Indians, drew off the greater part of the wounded and dead, and embarking them in boats descended the river with the utmost precipitation. In the course of the 2d inst. having heard the cannonading, I made several attempts to ascertain the force and situation of the enemy; our scouts were unable to get near the fort, from the Indians which surrounded it. Finding, however, that the enemy had only light artillery, and being well convinced that it could make little impression upon the works, and that any attempt to storm it would be resisted with effect, I waited for the arrival of two hundred and fifty mounted volunteers, which on the evening before had left Upper Sandusky. But as soon as I was informed the enemy were retreating, I set out with the dragoons to endeavor to overtake them, leaving generals M'Arthur and Cass to follow with all the infantry (about seven hundred) that could be spared from the protection of the stores and sick of this place. I found it impossible to come up with them. Upon my arrival at Sandusky, I was informed by the prisoners that the enemy's forces consisted of four hundred and ninety regular troops, and five hundred of Dixon's Indians, commanded by general Proctor in person, and that Tecumseh, with about two thousand warriors, was somewhere in the swamps, between this and Fort Meigs, expecting my advancing, or that of a convoy of provisions. As there was no prospect of doing any thing in front, and being apprehensive that Tecumseh might destroy the stores and small detachments in my rear, I sent orders to general Cass, who commanded the reserve, to fall back to this place, and to general M'Arthur with the front line to follow and support him. I remained at Sandusky until the parties that were sent out in every direction returned—not an enemy was to be seen.

I am sorry that I cannot transmit you major Croghan's official report. He was to have sent it to me this morning, but I have just heard that he was so much exhausted by thirty-six hours of continued exertion as to be unable to make it. It will not be amongst the least of general Proctor's mortifications to find that he has been baffled by a youth who has just passed his twenty-first year. He is, however, a hero worthy of his gallant uncle, general George R. Clark.

Captain Hunter, of the 17th regiment, the second in command, conducted himself with great propriety; and never were a set of finer young fellows than the subalterns, viz. lieutenants Johnson and Bayler of the 17th, Anthony of the 24th, Meeks of the 7th, and ensigns Shipp and Duncan of the 17th.

The following account of the unworthy artifice and conduct of the enemy will excite your indignation. Major Chambers was sent by general Proctor, accompanied by colonel Elliott, to demand the surrender of the fort.—They were met by ensign Shipp. The major observed, that general Proctor had a number of cannon, a large body of regular troops, and so many Indians whom it was impossible to control; and if the fort was taken, as it must be, the whole of the garrison would be massacred.

Mr. Shipp answered, that it was the determination of major Croghan, his officers



Sortie at Fort Meigs.—Page 25.

Battle of the Thames.—Page 39.

and men, to defend the garrison, or be buried in it: and that they might do their best. Colonel Elliott then addressed Mr. Shipp, and said, 'You are a fine young man; I pity your situation; for God's sake surrender, and prevent the dreadful slaughter that must follow resistance. Shipp turned from him with indignation, and was immediately taken hold of by an Indian, who attempted to wrest his sword from him. Elliott pretended to exert himself to release him, and expressed great anxiety to get him safe in the fort.

I have the honor to enclose you a copy of the first note received from major Croghan. It was written before day: and it has since been ascertained, that of the enemy there remained in the ditch, one lieutenant-colonel, one lieutenant and twenty-five privates: the number of prisoners, one sergeant and twenty-five privates; fourteen of them badly wounded: every care has been taken of the latter, and the officers buried with the honors due to their rank and their bravery. All the dead that were not in the ditch, were taken off in the night by the Indians. It is impossible, from the circumstances of the attack, that they should have lost less than one hundred. Some of the prisoners think that it amounted to two hundred. A young gentleman, a private in the Petersburg volunteers, of the name of Brown, assisted by five or six of that company and of the Pittsburgh Blues, who were accidentally in the fort, managed the six-pounder which produced such destruction in the ranks of the enemy. I have the honor to be, &c. WM. HENRY HARRISON.

N. B. Of our few wounded men, there is but one that will not be well in less than six days."

Extract of a letter from colonel Croghan, to his friend at Seneca Town, published in supplement to Niles, vol. viii. p. 183.

"*Lower Sandusky, August* 27, 1813.

"I have with much regret seen in some of the public prints, such misrepresentations respecting my refusal to evacuate this post, as are calculated not only to injure me in the estimation of military men, but also to excite unfavorable impressions as to the propriety of general Harrison's conduct relative to this affair.

His character as a military man, is too well established to need my approbation or support. But his public services entitle him at least to common justice—this affair does not furnish causes of reproach. If public opinion has been hastily misled respecting his late conduct, it will require but a moment's cool, dispassionate reflection, to convince them of its propriety. The measures recently adopted by him, so far from deserving censure, are the clearest proofs of his keen penetration, and able generalship. It is true, that I did not proceed immediately to execute his order to evacuate this post; but this disobedience was not (as some would wish to believe) the result of a fixed determination to maintain the post contrary to his most positive orders, as will appear from the following detail, which is given to explain my conduct.

About ten o'clock on the morning of the 30th ult. a letter from the adjutant-general's office, (dated Seneca Town, July 29th 1813,) was handed me by Mr. Conner, ordering me to abandon this post, burn it, and retreat that night to head-quarters. On the reception of the order, I called a council of officers, in which it was determined not to abandon the place, (at least until the further pleasure of the general should be known,) as it was thought an attempt to retreat in open day, in the face of a superior force of the enemy, would be more hazardous than to remain in the fort, under all its disadvantages. I therefore wrote a letter to the general couched in such terms as I thought were calculated to deceive the enemy, should it fall into his hands, which I thought more than probable—as well as to inform the general, should it be so fortunate as to reach him, that I would wait to hear from him, before I should proceed to execute his order. This letter, contrary to my expectations, was received by the general, who (not knowing what reasons urged me to write in a tone so decisive) concluded very rationally, that the manner of it was demonstrative of a most positive determination to disobey his orders under any circumstances. I was therefore suspended from the command of the fort, and ordered to head-quarters; but on explaining to the general my reasons for not executing his order, and my object in using the style I had done, he was so perfectly satisfied with the explanation, that I was immediately reinstated in the command.

It will be recollected, that the order above alluded to, was written on the night previous to my receiving it; had it been delivered to me (as was intended) that night, I should have obeyed it without hesitation; its not reaching me in time, was the only reason which induced me to consult my officers on the propriety of waiting the general's further order.

It has been stated also, that 'upon my representations of my ability to maintain this post, the general altered his determination to abandon it.' This is incorrect. No such representation was ever made. And the last order I received from the general, was precisely the same as that first given, viz.: 'That if I discovered the approach of a large British force by water, (presuming they would bring heavy artillery) time enough to effect a retreat, I was to do so; but if I could not retreat with safety, to defend the post to the last extremity.'

A day or two before the enemy appeared before Fort Meigs, the general had reconnoitred the surrounding ground; and being informed that the hill on the opposite side of Sandusky completely commanded the fort, I offered to undertake, with the troops under my command, to remove it to that side. The general, upon reflection, thought it best not to attempt it, as he believed that if the enemy again appeared on this side the lake, it would be before the work could be finished.

It is useless to disguise the fact, that this fort is commanded by the points of high ground around it; a single stroke of the eye made this clear to me the first time I had occasion to examine the neighborhood, with the view of discovering the relative strength and weakness of the place.

It would be insincere to say that I am not flattered by the many handsome things which have been said about the defence which was made by the troops under my command: but I desire no plaudits which are bestowed upon me at the expense of general Harrison.

I have at all times enjoyed his confidence so far as my rank in the army entitled me to it, and on proper occasions received his marked attention. I have felt the warmest attachment for him as a man, and my confidence in him as an able commander remains unshaken. I feel every assurance, that he will at all times do me ample justice; and nothing could give me more pain than to see his enemies seize upon this occasion to deal out their unfriendly feelings and acrimonious dislike—and so long as he continues (as in my humble opinion he has done) to make the wisest arrangements and most judicious disposition which the forces under his command will justify, I shall not hesitate to unite with the army in bestowing upon him that confidence which he so richly merits, and which has on no occasion been withheld.

Your friend,

GEORGE CROGHAN,

Major seventeenth infantry, commanding Lower Sandusky."

"*Lower Seneca Town, August* 26, 1813.

The undersigned, being the general field and staff officers, with that portion of the north-western army under the immediate command of general Harrison, have observed with regret and surprise that charges, as improper in the form as in the substance, have been made against the conduct of general Harrison during the recent investment of Lower Sandusky. At another time, and under ordinary circumstances, we should deem it improper and unmilitary thus publicly to give any opinion respecting the movements of the army. But public confidence in the commanding general is essential to the success of the campaign, and causelessly to withdraw or to withhold that confidence is more than individual injustice; it becomes a serious injury to the service. A part of the force, of which this portion of the American army consists, will derive its greatest strength and efficacy from a confidence in the commanding general, and from those moral causes which accompany and give energy to public opinion. A very erroneous idea respecting the number of the troops then at the disposal of the general, has doubtless been the primary cause of these unfortunate and unfounded impressions. A sense of duty forbids us from giving a detailed view of our strength at that time. In that respect, we have fortunately experienced a very favorable change. But we refer the public to the general's official report to the secretary of war of major Croghan's successful defence of Lower Sandusky. In that will be found a statement of our whole disposable force, and he who believes that with such a force, under the circumstances which then occurred, general Harrison ought

to have advanced upon the enemy, must be left to correct his opinion in the school of experience. On a review of the course then adopted, we are decidedly of the opinion, that it was such as was dictated by military wisdom and by a due regard to our own circumstances and to the situation of the enemy. The reasons for this opinion it is evidently improper now to give, but we hold ourselves ready, at a future period, and when other circumstances shall have intervened, to satisfy every man of its correctness who is anxious to investigate and willing to receive the truth. And with a ready acquiescence, beyond the mere claims of military duty, we are prepared to obey a general, whose measures meet our most deliberate approbation, and merit that of his country.

Lewis Cass, Brig. Gen. U. S. A.
Samuel Wells, Col. 17 R. U. S. I.
Th. D. Owings, Col. 28 R. U. S. I.
Geo. Paul, Col. 27 R. U. S. I.
J. C. Bartlett, Col. and Q. M. G.
Jas. V. Ball, Lieut. Col.
Robert Morrison, Lieut. Col.
Geo. Tod, Maj. 19 R. U. S. I.
Wm. Trigg, Maj. 28 R. U. S. I.
James Smiley, Maj. 28 R. U. S. I.
Rd. Graham, Maj. 17 R. U. S. I.
Geo. Croghan, Maj. 17 R. U. S. I.
L. Hukill, Maj. and Ass. In. Gen.
L. D. Wood, Maj. Engineers."

The following reply to a letter from general Proctor, relative to the sick and wounded prisoners at the battle of Lower Sandusky, is eminently characteristic of his humanity. See Niles, vol. iv. p. 419.

"*Head-quarters, Eighth Military District of the United States, August* 10, 1813.

Sir—Your letter addressed to the officer commanding at Lower Sandusky, was forwarded from thence to me, and received this moment. Upon my arrival at Fort Sandusky on the morning of the 3d instant, I found that major Croghan, conformably to those principles which are held sacred in the American army, had caused all the care to be taken of the wounded prisoners that his situation would permit. Having with me my hospital surgeon, he was particularly charged to attend to them, and I am warranted in the belief that every aid that surgical skill could give was afforded. They have been literally furnished too with every article necessary in their situation which our hospital stores could supply.

Having referred to my government for orders respecting the disposition of the prisoners, I cannot with propriety comply with your request for an immediate exchange.

But I assure you, sir, that as far as it depends upon me, the course of treatment which has been commenced towards them, whilst in my possession, will be continued.

I have the honor to be, sir, your humble servant,

Wm. H. Harrison,
Major-general commanding Eighth United States Military District."

The next achievement in the career of general Harrison was the capture of Malden, September 23, 1813. General Harrison's own letters give the best account of the capture. The following are recorded in Niles, vol. v. p. 117.

"Extract of a letter from major-general Harrison to the secretary of war, dated head-quarters, Bass Island, 22d Sept. 1813.

The greater part of the troops are here with me, and the whole will, I believe, be up by 12 o'clock. I shall proceed as far as the Middle Sister, in the course of to-night and to-morrow, and in the following night get so near the enemy's coast as to land two or three miles below Malden by eight o'clock in the morning. These prospects may, however, be retarded by adverse winds. Commodore Perry gives me every assistance in his power.

Copy of a letter from major-general Harrison to the war department.

Head-quarters, Amherstburg, Sept. 22, 1813.

Sir—I have the honor to inform you that I landed the army under my command about three miles below this place at three o'clock this evening, without opposition, and took possession of the town in an hour after. General Proctor has retreated to Sandwich with his regular troops and Indians, having previously burned the fort, navy-yard, barracks, and public store-houses; the two latter were very extensive, covering several acres of ground. I will pursue the enemy to-morrow, although there is no probability of my overtaking him, as he has upwards of one thousand horses, and we have not one in the army. I shall think myself fortunate to be able to collect a sufficiency to mount the general officers. It is supposed here that general Proctor intends to establish himself upon the river French, forty miles from Malden. I have the honor to be, &c. Wm. H. Harrison.

Copy of a letter from commodore Perry to the secretary of the navy.

U. S. schooner Ariel, Malden Harbor, 23d Sept. 1813, 5 *P.M.*

Sir—I have the honor to acquaint you that the army under major-general Harrison have this moment marched into Malden without opposition, and that the squadron are now at anchor off the town. I have the honor to be, &c. O. H. Perry.

Extract of a letter from colonel Smith, of the rifle regiment, to colonel A. Y. Nicholl, inspector-general, dated

Lower Sandusky, October 2d, 1813.

I have already collected 520 of my regiment.—The last accounts from the general state that he was in pursuit of Proctor, who had evacuated Malden a few hours before he landed. I fear he will make his escape. I leave here immediately for Portage, and probably head-quarters, to procure transport for my detachment.

Copy of a letter from major-general Harrison to governor Meigs, dated

Head-quarters, Amherstburg, 27th of September, 1813, 10 *o'clock, P.M.*

Dear Sir—The enemy have given up this important place without opposition; having destroyed the fort and all the public buildings, which were immensely extensive and valuable, particularly the navy-yard.

Proctor was yesterday at Sandwich, with his regulars and Indians. It is supposed he is bending his course to the river French, there to fortify and make a stand. I shall follow him as soon as I collect a few horses to mount the general officers and some of the staff.

A miserable French pony, upon which the venerable and patriotic governor of Kentucky was mounted, is the only one in the army.

We landed three miles below the town. I wish your troops to remain at one of the Sanduskys for orders. Your friend, Wm. H. Harrison."

A short time after the surrender of Malden, general Harrison took possession of Detroit, which event was succeeded by the glorious Battle of the Thames, which took place on the 5th of October, 1813. The details of this ever memorable battle, and the previous movements of the army, are contained in the following letters to the secretary of war, inserted in Niles, vol. v. pp. 129—130.

"Extract of a letter from general Harrison to the department of war.

Head-quarters, Sandwich, U. C. 30th Sept. 1813.

Sir—General Proctor has with him four hundred and seventy-five regulars of the forty-first and Newfoundland regiments; sixty of the tenth regiment of veterans; forty-five dragoons; and from six hundred to one thousand Indians. Some deserters who left him the night before last, give the latter as the number. The citizens of Detroit suppose the former to be correct.

The Ottawas and Chippewas have withdrawn from the British, and have sent in three of their warriors to beg for peace, promising to agree to any terms that I shall prescribe. I have agreed to receive them upon condition of their giving hostages for their fidelity, and immediately joining us with all their warriors. The Wyandots, Miamies, and the band of Delawares, which had joined the enemy, are also desirous to be received upon the same terms.

The celebrated chief Main Pock is at the head of the hostile band on the Detroit

side of the strait. Tecumseh heads that which remains with the British. The inhabitants of Detroit, who were in daily communication with them, make the former from one thousand to twelve hundred. Their object in dividing their force was to make a night attack upon the part of the army which crossed over to Detroit, or that which remained on this side, by a junction of their force some miles above.

A detachment of the army, and some of the vessels of war, will set out for the reduction of Mackinac and St. Josephs, in a few days.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your obedient servant,

Hon. John Armstrong, secretary of war. WM. H. HARRISON.

Extract of a letter from general M'Arthur to the secretary of war.

Detroit, Oct. 6th, 1813.

You have no doubt been advised by the commanding general, that Malden and this place were abandoned by the enemy previous to the arrival of our army, and that all the public buildings, &c., were destroyed. On our arrival at Sandwich, my brigade was ordered across the river to disperse some Indians, who were pillaging the town, and to take possession of this place. Information was received that several thousand Indians had retired a small distance into the woods, with instructions to attack general Harrison's army on its passage, for the purpose of retarding its progress; consequently my brigade was left to garrison this place.

Since general Harrison's departure, five nations of Indians, viz. the Ottaways, Chippeways, Pattawatamies, Miamies, and Kickapoos, who were but a few miles back, have come in for peace, and I have agreed that hostilities should cease for the present, on the following conditions: 'They have agreed to take hold of the same tomahawk with us, and to strike all who are or may be enemies to the United States, whether British or Indians.' They are to bring in a number of their women and children, and leave them as hostages whilst they accompany us to war. Some of them have already brought in their women, and are drawing rations.

I have just received a note from general Harrison, advising that he had last evening overtaken general Proctor's force, and had gained a complete victory; that all the principal officers, general Proctor excepted, were in his possession, which no doubt ends the war in this quarter. I have the honor, &c. DUNCAN M'ARTHUR,

Brig. Gen. U. S. Army.

Copy of a letter from general Harrison to the department of war.

Head-quarters, near Moravian Town, on the River Thames,

80 *miles from Detroit, 5th October,* 1813.

SIR—I have the honor to inform you, that, by the blessing of Providence, the army under my command has this evening obtained a complete victory over the combined Indian and British forces under the command of general Proctor. I believe that nearly the whole of the enemy's regulars are taken or killed. Amongst the former are all the superior officers excepting general Proctor. My mounted men are now in pursuit of him. Our loss is very trifling. The brave colonel R. M. Johnson is the only officer whom I have heard of that is wounded; he badly, but I hope not dangerously.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, sir, your obedient, humble servant,

WM. H. HARRISON.

The hon. John Armstrong, Secretary at War.

Copy of a letter from major-general Harrison to the secretary of war.

Head-quarters, Detroit, 9th Oct. 1813.

SIR—In my letter from Sandwich of the 30th ultimo, I did myself the honor to inform you that I was preparing to pursue the enemy the following day. From various causes, however, I was unable to put the troops in motion until the morning of the 2d inst., and then to take with me only about one hundred and forty of the regular troops, Johnson's mounted regiment, and such of governor Shelby's volunteers as were fit for a rapid march, the whole amounting to about three thousand five hundred men. To general M'Arthur (with about seven hundred effectives) the protecting of this place and the sick was committed. General Cass's brigade and the corps of lieutenant-colonel Ball were left at Sandwich, with orders to follow me as soon as the men received their knapsacks and blankets, which had been left on an island in lake Erie.

The unavoidable delay at Sandwich was attended with no disadvantage to us,

General Proctor had posted himself at Dalson's, on the right bank of the Thames, (or Trench,) fifty-six miles from this place, where I was informed he intended to fortify and wait to receive me. He must have believed, however, that I had no disposition to follow him, or that he had secured my continuance here, by the reports that were circulated that the Indians would attack and destroy this place upon the advance of the army; as he neglected to commence the breaking up the bridges until the night of the 2d inst. On that night our army reached the river, which is twenty-five miles from Sandwich, and is one of four streams crossing our route, over all of which are bridges, and, being deep and muddy, are unfordable for a considerable distance into the country; the bridge here was found entire, and in the morning I proceeded with Johnson's regiment to save, if possible, the others. At the second bridge, over a branch of the river Thames, we were fortunate enough to capture a lieutenant of dragoons and eleven privates, who had been sent by general Proctor to destroy them. From the prisoners I learned that the third bridge was broken up, and that the enemy had no certain information of our advance. The bridge having been imperfectly destroyed, was soon repaired, and the army encamped at Drake's farm, four miles below Dalson's.

The river Thames, along the banks of which our route lay, is a fine deep stream, navigable for vessels of considerable burden, after the passage of the bar at its mouth, over which there is six and a half feet water.

The baggage of the army was brought from Detroit in boats protected by three gun-boats, which com. Perry had furnished for the purpose, as well as to cover the passage of the army over the Thames itself, or the mouths of its tributary streams; the banks being low and the country generally open (prairies) as high as Dalson's, these vessels were well calculated for that purpose. Above Dalson's, however, the character of the river and adjacent country is considerably changed. The former, though still deep, is very narrow, and its banks high and woody. The commodore and myself therefore agreed upon the propriety of leaving the boats under a guard of one hundred and fifty infantry, and I determined to trust to fortune and the bravery of my troops to effect the passage of the river. Below a place called Chatham, and four miles above Dalton's, is the third unfordable branch of the Thames; the bridge over its mouth had been taken up by the Indians, as well as that at M'Gregor's Mills, one mile above. Several hundred of the Indians remained to dispute our passage, and upon the arrival of the advanced guard, commenced a heavy fire from the opposite bank of the creek as well as that of the river. Believing that the whole force of the enemy was there, I halted the army, formed in order of battle, and brought up our two six-pounders to cover the party that were ordered to repair the bridge—a few shot from those pieces soon drove off the Indians, and enabled us, in two hours, to repair the bridge and cross the troops. Colonel Johnson's mounted regiment being upon the right of the army, had seized the remains of the bridge at the mills under a heavy fire from the Indians. Our loss upon this occasion, was two killed and three or four wounded, that of the enemy was ascertained to be considerably greater. A house near the bridge, containing a considerable number of muskets, had been set on fire—but it was extinguished by our troops and the arms saved. At the first farm above the bridge, we found one of the enemy's vessels on fire, loaded with arms and ordnance stores, and learned that they were a few miles ahead of us, still on the right bank of the river with the great body of the Indians. At Bowles' farm, four miles from the bridge, we halted for the night, found two other vessels and a large distillery filled with ordnance and other valuable stores to an immense amount in flames—it was impossible to put out the fire—two twenty-four pounders with their carriages were taken, and a large quantity of balls and shells of various sizes. The army was put in motion early in the morning of the 5th. I pushed on in advance with the mounted regiment, and requested governor Shelby to follow as expeditiously as possible with the infantry: the governor's zeal and that of his men enabled him to keep up with the cavalry, and by nine o'clock we were at Arnold's Mills, having taken in the course of the morning two gun-boats and several batteaux loaded with provisions and ammunition.

A rapid at the river at Arnold's Mills affords the only fording to be met with for a considerable distance, but, upon examination, it was found too deep for the infantry. Having, however, fortunately taken two or three boats and some Indian canoes on the spot, and obliging the horsemen to take a footman behind each, the whole were

safely crossed by twelve o'clock. Eight miles from the crossing, we passed a farm where a part of the British troops had encamped the night before, under the command of col. Warburton. The detachment with general Proctor had arrived the day before at the Moravian towns, four miles higher up. Being now certainly near the enemy, I directed the advance of Johnson's regiment to accelerate their march for the purpose of procuring intelligence. The officer commanding it, in a short time sent to inform me, that his progress was stopped by the enemy, who were formed across our line of march. One of the enemy's wagoners being also taken prisoner, from the information received from him, and my own observation, assisted by some of my officers, I soon ascertained enough of their position in order of battle, to determine that which it was proper for me to adopt.

I have the honor herewith to enclose you my general order of the 27th ult., prescribing the order of march and of battle when the whole army should act together. But as the number and description of the troops had been essentially changed, since the issuing of the order, it became necessary to make a corresponding alteration in their disposition. From the place where our army was last halted, to the Moravian towns, a distance of about three and a half miles, the road passes through a beach forest without any clearing, and for the first two miles near to the bank of the river. At from two to three hundred yards from the river a swamp extends parallel to it, throughout the whole distance. The intermediate ground is dry, and although the trees are tolerably thick, it is in many places clear of underbrush. Across this strip of land, its left *appeyed* upon the river, supported by artillery placed in the wood, their right in the swamp covered by the whole of their Indian force, the British troops were drawn up.

The troops at my disposal consisted of about one hundred and twenty regulars, of the twenty-seventh regiment, five brigades of Kentucky volunteer militia infantry, under his excellency governor Shelby, averaging less than five hundred men, and col. Johnson's Regiment of mounted infantry, making in the whole an aggregate something above three thousand. No disposition of an army, opposed to an Indian force, can be safe, unless it is secured on the flanks and in the rear. I had therefore no difficulty in arranging the infantry comformably to my general order of battle. General Trotter's brigade of five hundred men, formed the front line, his right upon the road and his left upon the swamp. General King's brigade as a second line, one hundred and fifty yards in the rear of Trotter's, and Chiles's brigade as a corps of reserve in the rear of it. These three brigades formed the command of major-general Henry; the whole of general Desha's division consisting of two brigades, were formed *en potence* upon the left of Trotter.

Whilst I was engaged in forming the infantry, I had directed col. Johnson's regiment, which was still in front, to be formed in two lines opposite to the enemy, and, upon the advance of the infantry, to take ground to the left, and forming upon that flank to endeavour to turn the right of the Indians. A moment's reflection, however, convinced me that from the thickness of the woods and swampiness of the ground, they would be unable to do any thing on horseback, and there was no time to dismount them and place their horses in security; I therefore determined to refuse my left to the Indians, and to break the British lines at once by a charge of the mounted infantry; the measure was not sanctioned by any thing that I had seen or heard of, but I was fully convinced that it would succeed. The American backwoodsmen ride better in the woods than any other people. A musket or rifle is no impediment to them, being accustomed to carry them on horseback from their earliest youth. I was persuaded too that the enemy would be quite unprepared for the shock, and that they could not resist it. Conformably to this idea, I directed the regiment to be drawn up in close columns, with its right at a distance of fifty yards from the road, (that it might be in some measure protected by the trees from the artillery,) its left upon the swamp, and to charge at full speed as soon as the enemy delivered their fire. The few regular troops of the twenty-seventh regiment, under their colonel (Paul) occupied, in column of sections of four, the small space between the road and the river, for the purpose of seizing the enemy's artillery, and some ten or twelve friendly Indians were directed to move under the bank. The *crotchet* formed by the front line and general Desha's division was an important point. At that place, the venerable governor of Kentucky was posted, who at the age of sixty-six preserves all the

vigor of youth, the ardent zeal which distinguished him in the revolutionary war, and the undaunted bravery which he manifested at King's Mountain. With my aid-de-camp, the acting assistant adjutant-general captain Butler, my gallant friend, commodore Perry, who did me the honor to serve as my volunteer aid-de-camp, and brigadier-general Cass, who having no command tendered me his assistance. I placed myself at the head of the front line of infantry, to direct the movement of the cavalry and give them the necessary support. The army had moved on in this order but a short distance, when the mounted men received the fire of the British line and were ordered to charge; the horses in the front of the column recoiled from the fire; another was given by the enemy, and our column, at length, getting in motion, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute, the contest in front was over; the British officers, seeing no hopes of reducing their disordered ranks to order, and our mounted men wheeling upon them and pouring in a destructive fire, immediately surrendered. It is certain that three only of our troops were wounded in this charge. Upon the left, however, the contest was more severe with the Indians. Col. Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a most galling fire from them, which was returned with great effect. The Indians still further to the right advanced, and fell in with our front line of infantry, near its junction with Desha's division, and for a moment made an impression upon it. His excellency governor Shelby, however, brought up a regiment to its support, and the enemy receiving a severe fire in front, and a part of Johnson's regiment having gained their rear, retreated with precipitation. Their loss was very considerable in the action, and many were killed in their retreat.

I can give no satisfactory information of the number of Indians that were in the action, but they must have been considerably upwards of one thousand. From the documents in my possession, (general Proctor's official letters, all of which were taken,) and from the information of respectable inhabitants of this territory, the Indians kept in pay by the British were much more numerous than has been generally supposed. In a letter to general de Rottenburg of the 27th instant, general Proctor speaks of having prevailed upon most of the Indians to accompany him. Of these it is certain that fifty or sixty Wyandot warriors abandoned him.*

The number of our troops was certainly greater than that of the enemy, but when it is recollected, that they had chosen a position that effectually secured their flank, which it was impossible for us to turn, and that we could not present to them a line more extended than their own, it will not be considered arrogant to claim for my troops the palm of superior bravery.

In communicating to the president through you, sir, my opinion of the conduct of the officers who served under my command, I am at a loss how to mention that of governor Shelby, being convinced that no eulogium of mine can reach his merit. The governor of an independent state, greatly my superior in years, in experience and in military character, he placed himself under my command, and was not more remarkable for his zeal and activity, than for the promptitude and cheerfulness with which he obeyed my orders. The major-generals Henry and Desha, and the brigadiers Allen, Caldwell, King, Chiles, and Trotter, all of the Kentucky volunteers, manifested great zeal and activity. Of governor Shelby's staff, his adjutant-general, colonel M'Dowell, and his quarter-master-general, colonel Walker, rendered great service, as did his aids-de-camp, general Adair, and majors Barry and Crittenden. The military skill of the former was of great service to us, and the activity of the two latter gentlemen could not be surpassed. Illness deprived me of the talents of my adjutant-general, colonel Gaines, who was left at Sandwich. His duties were, however, ably performed by the acting assistant adjutant-general, captain Butler. My aids-de-camp, lieutenant O'Fallon, and captain Todd, of the line, and my volunteer aids, John Speed Smith, and John Chambers, esq. have rendered me the most important service from the opening of the campaign. I have already stated that general Cass and commodore Perry assisted me in forming the troops for action. The former is an officer of the highest merit, and the appearance of the brave commodore cheered and animated every breast.

* A British officer of high rank assured one of my aids-de-camp, that on the day of our landing, general Proctor had, at his disposal, upwards of three thousand Indian warriors, but asserted that the greatest part had left him previous to the action.

It would be useless, sir, after stating the circumstances of the action, to pass encomiums upon colonel Johnson and his regiment. Veterans could not have manifested more firmness. The colonel's numerous wounds prove that he was in the post of danger. Lieutenant-colonel James Johnson, and the majors Payne and Thompson were equally active, though more fortunate. Major Wood of the engineers, already distinguished by his conduct at Fort Meigs, attended the army with two six-pounders. Having no use for them in the action, he joined in the pursuit of the enemy, and with major Payne of the mounted regiment, two of my aids-de-camp, Todd and Chambers, and three privates, continued it for several miles after the rest of the troops had halted, and made many prisoners.

I left the army before an official return of the prisoners, or that of the killed and wounded, was made out. It was, however, ascertained that the former amounts to six hundred and one regulars, including twenty-five officers. Our loss is seven killed and twenty-two wounded, five of which have since died. Of the British troops twelve were killed and twenty-two wounded. The Indians suffered most—thirty-three having been found upon the ground, besides those killed in the retreat.

On the day of the action, six pieces of brass artillery were taken, and two iron twenty-four pounders the day before. Several others were discovered in the river, and can be easily procured. Of the brass pieces, three are the trophies of our revolutionary war that were taken at Saratoga and York, and surrendered by general Hull. The number of small arms taken by us, and destroyed by the enemy, must amount to upwards of five thousand; most of them had been ours, and taken by the enemy at the surrender of Detroit, at the river Raisin, and colonel Dudley's defeat. I believe that the enemy retain no other military trophy of their victories than the standard of the fourth regiment. They were not magnanimous enough to bring that of the forty-first regiment into the field, or it would have been taken.

You have been informed, sir, of the conduct of the troops under my command in action; it gives me great pleasure to inform you, that they merit also the approbation of their country for their conduct, in submitting to the greatest privations with the utmost cheerfulness.

The infantry were entirely without tents, and for several days, the whole army subsisted upon fresh beef without bread or salt.

I have the honor to be, &c.

WILLIAM H. HARRISON.

General John Armstrong, secretary of war.

P. S. General Proctor escaped by the fleetness of his horses, escorted by forty dragoons and a number of mounted Indians."

Perry's glorious victory on Lake Erie and the victory of the Thames, diffused the greatest animation and joy throughout the United States. The cities were illuminated, and every tongue sounded the praises of the heroes, whilst the press teemed with complimentary notices. The following from Niles, vol. v. p. 145, describes several of the illuminations.

"At PHILADELPHIA.—Agreeable to permission granted by the mayor, the capture of general Proctor's army by the United States army under general Harrison, was celebrated in this city on the evening of the 21st October by a *brilliant illumination*—the suburbs also exhibited their usual degree of patriotic feeling, and even the town of Camden (opposite) was *lit up*.

The transparencies in different parts of the city were so numerous, that it would be a vain task to attempt a particular description of them—we shall therefore notice a few only, without any design, however, to disparage others.

The most conspicuous we saw, were those of the house of Jacob G. Kotch, corner of Ninth and Market streets—the Market street front presented five different transparencies, in front of as many large windows.

The basement story presented two; the western window contained a shaft of a fluted Doric column, round which was a scroll containing a phrase from general Harrison's official letter—'*It has pleased Providence*;' on the summit of the shaft was a bust, with a scroll above, inscribed, 'HARRISON.'

On the window adjacent was a similar shaft, with a scroll containing the sentence

from commodore Perry's letter—'*It has pleased the Almighty,*' and on the summit a bust presented by the scroll, inscribed 'PERRY.'

On the middle story, west window, was a female figure, large as life, with the American shield, the stripes in the lower field, and the stars on a blue ground in the upper; beneath the feet of the figure, which represented AMERICA, was a lion crouching, with the foot of a figure on its neck; from the mouth of the figure issued a label inscribed, '*Virtue, Liberty, Independence.*'

On the east window was a representation of an American general officer, and two Indian chiefs at his feet; the glittering tomahawk and scalping knife were on the ground; and from the mouth of one of the Indians issued a label with the words '*Accept our submission.*'

In the attic window was a naval trophy; the ground work the American flag, over which appeared in relief, a *pennant*, inscribed, '*Free trade and sailors' rights.*'

The west part of Mr. Kotch's house in Ninth street, was illuminated and decorated in another but elegant style; the numerous windows exhibited wax lights tastefully interspersed with *bouquets* and flower vases of a great variety of kinds, and wreaths, festoons, and garlands of laurel, myrtle, oak, palm, and grape leaves.

The front of the house of Mr. Mills, architect, in George street, between Eighth and Ninth, was beautifully illuminated; in the front there was a large transparency of military action, the flight of the enemy and the pursuit, in a very beautiful style.

At the corner of Eighth and Race streets was erected a triumphal arch of about forty feet elevation and diameter, illuminated; and bearing a portrait and emblems commemorable of the glorious events.

At the corner of Third and Chesnut, there was a very elegant transparency: a portrait of a general officer at full length, with military apparatus. This transparency was very well executed.

The theatre presented a variety of transparencies and an illumination of colored lamps; the effect was beautiful; but only one transparency was new, the rest were from the painter's loft.

In several houses we could perceive transparencies of ships, and mottoes, all significant of that event.

At the adjutant-general's office the British flag, on which was written in large characters, '*taken at Erie.*' The immense crowd which was collected to see the British flag '*taken at Erie*' is inconceivable; several bands of music and companies of ladies visited this spectacle so exhilarating.

It was observed by a lady in the group, 'that a victory like Perry's, which gave security and repose to two hundred thousand families, who had a week before never went to sleep with the certainty of escaping conflagration or the tomahawk until morning, was a true occasion for rejoicing.'

A tradesman's house between Third and Fourth, in Market street, displayed at every window a series of *shields* in transparent colours, on each of which was inscribed the names of some of our gallant countrymen—amongst whom were *Pike, King, Chrystie, Wools, Croghan, Johnson—Rogers, Decatur, Hull, Lawrence, Perry, Jones, Bainbridge, Chauncey, Burroughs, Allen, Moffat, Wooster, Elliot.*

Mr. Murray, engraver, had an exquisite transparency. And there were several which we should have wished to have stayed and seen, but the *current of beauty* which swam along the streets left little opportunity to dwell for any sufficient time on the transparencies generally.

The town at ten o'clock displayed a scene of silence and tranquillity, such as no city or country in the universe could show the like; it was not the sullen command of despotism, or the agonizing *curfew*, that bade slaves retire to darkness and sorrow; but a free and happy people, elated by the glory and safety of their country, and the achievements of their gallant defenders, entering with the order of honorable virtue into the celebration of their happiness, and vindicating their claim to the eternal enjoyment of their liberties and right, by a reverence for social order. Philadelphia, at half an hour after exhibiting the streets crowded with beauty, in numbers equal at least to any city of the world, was as quiet and undisturbed by the footsteps of the passenger, as the prairies of Louisiana—it was an exquisite sensation to view, at half past nine o'clock, the gay, giddy, cheerful, happy, innocent crowd, pressing without

rudeness or ill nature along the well-paved footways. In an hour all disappeared—the windows, which were illuminated with joy, had discharged their tribute to public gladness—they were now dedicated to silence and repose—the streets presented their accustomed appearance, and the lamps seemed reluctant to show the passenger his way, jealous of the blaze that had concealed their usefulness the preceding part of the evening.—*Aurora.*

At NEW YORK.—On Saturday evening, October 23, pursuant to a resolution of the common council, the *City Hall* was illuminated in honor of the recent successes of the American arms in Upper Canada. That magnificent structure, by far the most splendid pile of architecture in America, and not exceeded by many in Europe, was lighted throughout its spacious front, (comprising upwards of fifty windows and divisions in the portico,) to the tower or cupola on the centre, as well as in its extensive wings, containing about thirty windows. The transparent naval paintings used at the former celebrations in the city hotel were here displayed, with the addition of the dying injunction of the gallant Lawrence, '*Don't give up the ship.*'

Tammany Hall next claimed the attention of the thousands of admiring spectators. Over the principal entrance of this building was exhibited a well executed emblematic transparency, painted by Mr. Holland, representing the Indian chiefs surrendering to general Harrison, soliciting peace, and delivering their women and children as hostages, with a view of the battle of Lake Erie, and commodore Perry leaving his ship for the Niagara.

The *Theatre* presented a transparent painting, exhibiting the American eagle spreading over a considerable portion of the globe, and pointing with its beak to the motto from Perry's immortal despatch, '*We have met the enemy, and they are ours.*' The front of this massy edifice was ornamented with variegated lamps.

The *Naval Panorama*, next adjoining, exhibited a mechanical transparency, representing, in continual and rapid motion, a *Hornet* striking a *Peacock* in its breast, with other figures and suitable devices and inscriptions.

At the *Debtor's Prison*, in letters of fire, appeared, '*We have met the enemy, &c. Go ye and do likewise.*'

Washington and Mechanics' Halls were illuminated. The custom-house also, and the different hotels, public houses, and markets, joined in the brilliant and gratifying display.

From the battery were seen two of commodore Lewis's gun-boats, superbly decorated with lamps of various colors. The commodore's barge was ornamented with patriotic transparencies, and in the course of the evening, a discharge of rockets from his boat enlivened the scene.—*Columbian.*

At RICHMOND.—The illumination took place by recommendation of the mayor as follows:—

Fellow Citizens—Again, 'BY BLESSING OF PROVIDENCE,' WE ARE VICTORIOUS. The complete victory obtained over the combined Indian and British forces, under the command of general Proctor, who has himself doubtless ere this graced the triumph of our most gallant general Harrison, will give us entire possession of the Canadas; and operate more powerfully to the restoration of peace, than the mediation of any power on earth. Give vent to your feelings; think of Perry who paved the way, of Harrison, whose intrepid valor has thus so nobly achieved the victory. Let an illumination generally take place throughout our city on the evening of to-morrow, under this restriction only; that by ten of the evening, they be all extinguished—the safety of our city requires that I should urge this precaution—when it is most ardently wished, that every citizen will retire with grateful hearts to their respective abodes.

Doubtless every patriotic sentiment will lead our citizens to concur in this recommendation. But let the houses of absentees, of orphans, &c., which may not be lighted on this memorable occasion, be respected.

Mayor's office, Sunday evening, 10 *P. M.* ROBERT GREENHOW, Mayor."

The following account of the Richmond illumination is from the "*Virginia Patriot*:"—

"*The illumination*, in this city, on Monday evening last, was by far the most splen-

did we have ever witnessed, and in every respect suited to the occasion. Before the sable clouds of night had enveloped the city in darkness, the illumination commenced, and the names of 'Perry, Harrison, and Chauncey,' soon shone with distinguished lustre in every quarter. Every thing like base, sordid avarice, yielded to the finer feelings of patriotism; and with few exceptions, a just sensibility pervaded every bosom. Many transparent and appropriate paintings presented themselves to the view; but it would be invidious to notice the exertions of any particular individual, where all performed their duty. To crown the climax, and give a zest to joy, the ladies of Richmond were seen descending in lovely groups from Shockœ Hill to the main street, there to ornament and embellish the scene. The most perfect harmony and good order prevailed; and the ladies roamed about in full security, free and undisturbed. In short, but one sentiment seemed to exist: the sunshine of joy and exultation illuminated every countenance, and none was found

'So lost to virtue, lost to manly thought,'

as to dare interrupt this delightful banquet of the mind, by the least improper conduct. To be sure, the civil authority, much to their credit, took every necessary step to prevent disorderly behavior; but we rejoice to say, sensual pleasures were forgotten, while the names of 'Perry, Harrison, and Chauncey,' dwelt on every tongue. At nine, the streets were generally clear of the crowd, and at ten o'clock, agreeably to the mayor's request, every light was extinguished."

The following paragraphs appeared in the *Democratic Press* and *Richmond Inquirer*. See Niles, vol. v. p. 149.

"General Harrison (says the *Democratic Press*) has added a new manœuvre to the science of military tactics—the charging bayonet on horseback; which may afford some ingenious Englishman an opportunity of discovering a method of counteracting it, just as captain Manby has explained to the enlightened John Bull the American secret of conquering at sea.

General Harrison's detailed letter (says the *Richmond Inquirer*) tells us every thing that we wish to know about the officers *except himself*. He does justice to every one, but to Harrison—and the world must, therefore, do justice to the man who was too modest to be just to himself. We ask what heart is there that does not bow with gratitude to the gallantry of Shelby, who has shone in *two wars*, and of Perry, who conquers on both elements?"

In the same volume, p. 132, we find the general orders of general Harrison, detailing the plan for the debarkation of his troops into Canada. It is too long for insertion here, but is another evidence that he can "*do his own fighting as well as his own writing.*" The following order, however, issued on the day of the debarkation of his troops, is highly honorable to his humanity. Niles, vol. v. p. 149.

"GENERAL ORDER.

The general entreats his brave troops to remember that they are the sons of sires whose fame is immortal: that they are to fight for the rights of their insulted country, whilst their opponents combat for the unjust pretensions of a master.

KENTUCKIANS—remember the river Raisin; but remember it only whilst the victory is suspended. The revenge of a soldier cannot be gratified upon a fallen enemy.

By command, ROBERT BUTLER, assistant adjutant-general."

On the 29th day of September, 1813, he issued his proclamation reinstating the civil authorities at Michigan. Niles, vol. v. p. 173.

"By William Henry Harrison, major-general in the army of the United States, and commander-in-chief of the Eighth Military District,

A PROCLAMATION.

The enemy having been driven from the territory of Michigan, and a part of the army under my command having taken possession of it, it becomes necessary that the civil government of the territory should be re-established, and the former officers renew the exercise of their authority; I have therefore thought proper to proclaim, that all appointments and commissions which have been derived from British officers, are

at an end; that the citizens of the territory are restored to all the rights and privileges which they enjoyed previously to the capitulation made by general Hull on the 15th of August, 1812. Under the present circumstances, and until the will of the government be known, I have thought proper to direct that all persons having civil offices in the territory of Michigan, at the period of the capitulation of Detroit, resume the exercise of the powers appertaining to their offices respectively. In the present dispersed state of its population, many officers are, doubtless, absent. In all cases thus situated, the last incumbent who resigned the office, will resume the exercise of its duties. The laws in force at the period above mentioned, will be re-established and continue in force until repealed by the proper authority.

Given at Head-quarters, the 20th day of September, 1813.

WM. H. HARRISON.

Having, in conjunction with the gallant Perry, (whose victory* on Lake Erie on the ever memorable 10th of September, 1813, struck terror to the foe, and forever destroyed her boasted claims to supremacy on the ocean,) taken quiet possession of Upper Canada, they issued the following proclamation. Niles, vol. v. p. 215.

"By William Henry Harrison, major-general in the service of the United States, commander-in-chief of the north-western army, and Oliver Hazard Perry, captain in the navy, and commanding the fleet of the United States, on Lake Erie,

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas, by the combined operations of the land and naval forces under our command, those of the enemy within the upper district of Upper Canada have been captured or destroyed, and the said district is now in the quiet possession of our troops: it becomes necessary to provide for its government:—Therefore, we do hereby proclaim and make known, that the rights and privileges of the inhabitants, and the laws and customs of the country, as they existed or were in force at the period of our arrival, shall continue to prevail. All magistrates and other civil officers are to resume the exercise of their functions; previously taking an oath to be faithful to the government of the United States, as long as they shall be in possession of the country. The authority of all militia commissions is suspended in said district, and the officers required to give their parole, in such way as the officer, who may be appointed by the commanding general to administer the government, shall direct.

The inhabitants of said district are promised protection to their persons and property, with the exception of those cases embraced by the proclamation of general Proctor, of the ult. which is declared to be in force; and the powers therein assumed transferred to the officer appointed to administer the government.

Given under our hands and seals, at Sandwich, this 17th of October, 1813.

(Signed) WM. H. HARRISON.
OLIVER H. PERRY."

On the 28th of October, 1813, general Harrison arrived at New York, having left his army in winter quarters at Sacket's Harbor, where commodore Chauncey, having brought it from Fort George, was about to lay up his fleet for the season. On the 1st of December, 1813, the citizens of New York entertained him at *Tammany Hall*, by a public dinner, which was got up in the most splendid style. His toast was:

"'*The Freedom of the Seas*, and the adoption by our government of that Roman maxim, which secured to the citizen his inviolability.' Which was responded to by *twelve cheers!*" Niles, vol. v. p. 251.

On the 9th of December, 1813, (Niles, vol. v. p. 263,) general Harrison partook of a public entertainment at Philadelphia. His suit was also invited. The regular toasts being drunk, the general rose, and "with much expressiveness of manner," said—

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* The following is a copy of Perry's letter to General Harrison announcing the event.

United States Brig Niagara, off the Western Sister, September 10, 1813, 4 P. M.

Dear general—We have met the enemy and they are ours—two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and a sloop.

Yours with great respect and esteem,

GENERAL W. H. HARRISON. OLIVER HAZARD PERRY.

"*Gentlemen*—Permit me to offer you a volunteer toast, and very briefly to state the motive which prompts me to take one of the regular toasts of the day as a mean of communicating my opinion. Believing, as I do, that a sentiment is gaining ground unfriendly to republicanism and injurious to the nation, and knowing from my own experience, that the sentiment is not well founded, I will give you

The militia of the United States—they possess the Roman spirit, and when our government shall think proper to give them that organization and discipline of which they *are* susceptible, they will perform deeds that will emulate those of the legions led by Marcellus, and Scipio."

He also stopped a short time in Baltimore, and was waited upon, and congratulated by the citizens.

"It would seem," says Niles, vol. v. p. 264, "as if general Harrison, and commodore Perry had agreed to praise each other; for while the former speaks of the commodore, his officers and men with rapture, the latter is no less eloquent in praise of the general, and the brave men under him."

"In the signal victory," said the Boston Chronicle, (Niles, vol. v. p. 263,) "gained over Barclay's fleet, and Proctor's army, it is impossible to separate the brave and victorious commanders, Perry and Harrison. The circumstances are indeed very striking. Harrison sent reinforcements to assist Perry, and the action terminated in the *capture of the whole British fleet.* In return commodore Perry, volunteered with Harrison, and assisted him in the *capture of the British army.*

In the following letter Perry does justice to the zeal of Harrison and his gallant soldiers:—

United States schooner Ariel, September 15, 1813.

Sir—The very great assistance, in the action of the 10th inst., derived from those men you were pleased to send on board the squadron, render it a duty to return you my sincere thanks for *so timely a reinforcement.* In fact, sir, I may say, *without those men the victory could not have been achieved;* and equally I assure you, that those officers and men behaved as became good soldiers and seamen. Those who were under my immediate observation, evinced great ardor and bravery. Captain Brevort, of the second regiment of infantry, serving on board the Niagara, I beg leave to recommend particularly to your notice: he is a brave and gallant officer, and as far as I am capable of judging an excellent one. I am convinced you will present the merit of this officer to the view of the honorable secretary of war, as I shall to the honorable secretary of the navy.

Very respectfully, I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) Oliver H. Perry.

Major-general W. H. Harrison, commander-in-chief of the N. W. Army.

Commodore Perry, also, while at Albany, spoke in the highest terms of eulogium of the *Kentucky volunteers*, and in strains of admiration of the veteran Shelby. He represented them as 'brave even to imprudence,' as 'liberal, generous, and humane, almost to a fault.'"

Governor Snyder of Pennsylvania, in his annual message to the legislature of that state, December 10, 1813, (see Niles, vol. v. p. 257,) speaking of the recent glorious victories on water and land, said—

"As a prelude we refer with pride to the glorious victory on Lake Erie, which if ever equalled, was, in naval warfare never excelled. A victory not less brilliant in its achievement than important in its effects; not less honorable to the nation, than to the highly distinguished Perry who commanded, and to the brave officers and men who composed that heroic force. Already is the brow of the young warrior Croghan encircled with laurels, AND THE BLESSINGS OF THOUSANDS OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN RESCUED FROM THE SCALPING KNIFE OF THE RUTHLESS SAVAGE OF THE WILDERNESS AND FROM THE STILL MORE SAVAGE PROCTOR BEST ON HARRISON AND HIS GALLANT ARMY. Chauncey, though not equally successful with the renowned hero of Lake Erie, has sought and deserves to be so. On that element claimed by Britain as her exclusive domain, the American flag waved triumphant in every equal conflict."

James Madison, president of the United States, in his annual message, dated December 7, 1813, (Niles, vol. v. p. 346,) said—

"The success on Lake Erie having opened a passage to the territory of the enemy, the officer commanding the north-western army transferred the war thither; and rapidly pursuing the hostile troops fleeing with their savage associates, forced a general action, which quickly terminated in the capture of the British, and dispersion of the savage force.

This result is signally honorable to major-general Harrison, by whose military talents it was prepared; to colonel Johnson and his mounted volunteers, whose impetuous onset gave a decisive blow to the ranks of the enemy; and to the spirit of the volunteer militia, equally brave and patriotic, who bore an interesting part in the scene; more especially to the chief magistrate of Kentucky at the head of them, whose heroism, signalised in the war which established the independence of his country, sought, at an advanced age, a share in hardships and battles for maintaining its rights and its safety.

The effect of these successes has been to rescue the inhabitants of Michigan from their oppressions, aggravated by gross infractions of the capitulation which subjected them to a foreign power; to allienate the savages of numerous tribes from the enemy, by whom they were disappointed and abandoned; and to relieve an extensive region of country from a merciless warfare which desolated its frontiers, and imposed on its citizens the most harrasing services."

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL HARRISON TAKES COMMAND OF THE EIGHTH MILITARY DISTRICT—RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION, AND RETURNS TO HIS FARM AT NORTH BEND—APPOINTED A COMMISSIONER TO TREAT WITH THE INDIANS—ELECTED A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES—HIS SERVICES IN CONGRESS—RESOLUTION AND SPEECH IN FAVOR OF ERECTING A MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF KOSCIUSKO—DEMANDS AN INVESTIGATION OF HIS ACCOUNTS WHILST IN COMMAND OF THE EIGHTH MILITARY DISTRICT—GOLD MEDAL, AND THE THANKS OF CONGRESS VOTED TO HIM.

In January, 1814, general Harrison resumed at Cincinnati, the command of the eighth military district, but on the 8th of May ensuing, resigned his commission in the army. The reasons which induced him to take this step, are so fully and satisfactorily stated in a most valuable pamphlet, recently published in Cincinnati, entitled, "*Sketches of the Civil and Military Services of William Henry Harrison. By Charles S. Todd, late an inspector-general in the United States army, and Benjamin Drake, author of the life of Black Hawk, &c.*" that the compiler takes the liberty of inserting them here.

"The course of public opinion during the winter," say the authors of the pamphlet, "indicated very decidedly that general Harrison ought to be invested with the chief command in the next campaign. Commodore Perry, who had witnessed the exertions, the skill and bravery of general Harrison, addressed to him about this period, a letter, in which he says, 'You know what has been my opinion as to the future commander-in-chief of the army. I pride myself not a little, I assure you, on seeing my predictions so near being verified; yes, my dear friend, I expect to hail you as the chief who is to redeem the honor of our arms in the north.' The veteran general McArthur, another eye-witness to the career of general Harrison, wrote to him early in 1814, from Albany, New York, from which the following is an extract: 'You, sir, stand the highest with the militia of this state of *any* general in the service, and I am confident, that no man can fight them to so great an advantage; and I think their extreme solicitude may be the means of calling you to this frontier.' But from causes, which it is difficult at this time to explain, general Armstrong's feelings and opinions in relation to general Harrison, had undergone a material change. His letter of the 14th May, 1814, enclosing the plan of the campaign, as submitted

to the president on the 30th of April, fully authorizes the inference that general Harrison would not be assigned any command in the *active* operations of the approaching campaign. All of the troops in the eighth military district, excepting garrisons for Detroit and Malden, were to be held in readiness to move down the lake to Buffalo, and general McArthur was *designated* for the command of those corps, including the seventeenth, nineteenth, twenty-fourth, and twenty-eighth regiments of regulars. This arrangement of all the *disposable force in the north-west*, while it left general Harrison to remain in the eighth military district, was made after the receipt at the war office of his letter of the 13th of February, 1814, in which he expresses his views and feelings arising from the interference of the secretary in withdrawing general Howard from his command. That letter concludes with the following declaration: 'Apart from the considerations of my duty to my country, I have no inducement to remain in the army, and if the prerogatives of my rank and station as the commander of a district, be taken from me, being fully convinced that I can render no important service, I should much rather be permitted to retire to private life.'*

This was the condition of things, when the secretary persevered in interfering with his prerogatives, as the commander of the district, by despatching to major Holmes, a subordinate officer at Detroit, an order to take two hundred men from that post, and proceed on board commodore Sinclair's fleet, destined to Macinaw. This proceeding, on the part of the secretary, was a gross invasion of military propriety; and whatever may have been the design, it authorized general Harrison to suppose it was not the intention of the secretary to respect his rank as commander of the district. The order not only passed by the general, but was derogatory to the rank of colonel Croghan, the immediate commander of the post. That gallant young officer spoke of this course without reserve; and in a letter to general Harrison, made the following appropriate remarks: 'Major Holmes has been notified by the war department, that he is chosen to command the land troops which are intended to co-operate with the fleet against the enemy's force on the upper lakes. So soon as I may be directed by you to order major Holmes on that command, and to furnish him with the necessary troops, I shall do so; but not till then shall he, or any other part of my force, leave the sod.'† In another letter to general Harrison, he remarks: 'I know not how to account for the secretary of war's assuming to himself the right of designating major Holmes for this command to Macinaw. My ideas on the subject may not be correct; yet for the sake of the principle, were I a general commanding a district, I would be very far from suffering the secretary of war, or any other authority to interfere with my internal police.'‡ This order to major Holmes would authorize the inference that the secretary may have had other correspondence with him or other inferior officers of the district. It was evidently a course of conduct indicating a very different state of feeling towards the only successful general of the previous campaigns, from that implied by the unlimited powers confided to him in 1812–'13. Of the impolicy and great indelicacy, of a secretary at war interfering in the internal arrangements of the district confided to a commanding general, abundant evidence is afforded in the unmilitary order given to colonel Johnson in June, 1813, to march to St. Louis. Colonel Johnson and his regiment were anxious to participate in the contemplated movements into Canada, and were exceedingly mortified with this order, interfering as well with their wishes as with the internal police of the commanding general. It was on this trying occasion that colonel Johnson, on the 4th of July, appealed to general Harrison, to countermand the order; but the general regarded it as so imperative that he would not disobey it. In the colonel's letter, he expressed the wish, 'to serve under a general who was *brave, skilful,* and *prudent;*' but general Harrison would only so far modify the order, as to permit colonel Johnson and his regiment to take Kentucky in the route to St. Louis, in the hope that the horses might be recruited, and additional volunteers obtained. In the history of the late war in the west, it is stated, that 'he had scarcely reached Kentucky, before general Harrison had been authorized to recall him, by a letter from the war department, in which the secretary expressed his *regret that the order for his march* had ever reached general Harrison, and that the latter, *knowing the impropriety of the order,* had not on that ground delayed its execution.'§

* Dawson, 435. † McAffee, 417. ‡ McAffee, 418. § McAffee, 337.

Immediately upon the receipt, by general Harrison, of the notification of the order to major Holmes, he sent to the war department a resignation of his commission in the army; accompanied by a letter of the same date, to the president of the United States. The felicity of style, and nobleness of sentiment which characterize that letter, warrant its introduction into these sketches:

Head-quarters, Cincinnati, May 11, 1814.

Dear Sir—I have this day forwarded to the secretary of war my resignation of the commission I hold in the army.

This measure has not been determined on, without a reference to all the reasons which should influence a citizen, who is sincerely attached to the honor and interests of his country; who believes that the war in which we are engaged is just and necessary; and that the crisis requires the sacrifice of every private consideration, which could stand in opposition to the public good. But after giving the subject the most mature consideration, I am perfectly convinced, that my retiring from the army is as compatible with the claims of patriotism, as it is with those of my family, and a proper regard for my own feelings and honor.

I have no other motives in writing this letter than to assure you, that my resignation was not produced by any diminution of the interest I have always taken in the success of your administration, or of respect and attachment for your person. The former can only take place, when I forget the republican principles in which I have been educated; and the latter, when I shall cease to regard those feelings, which must actuate every honest man, who is conscious of favors that it is out of his power to repay.

Allow me, &c.

Harrison.

James Madison, Esq., President United States.

As soon as governor Shelby understood that general Harrison had forwarded his resignation, he addressed a letter to the president, urging him to decline an acceptance. The president was on a visit to Virginia, to which place the letters from general Harrison and governor Shelby were forwarded, and that of the latter was not received, until after *Armstrong, without the previous consent of the president*, had taken upon himself the high prerogative of accepting the resignation. The president expressed his great regret that the letter of governor Shelby had not been received at an earlier date, as in that case the valuable services of general Harrison would have been preserved to the nation in the ensuing campaigns.

As that letter was written by a veteran soldier who had served under general Harrison, and also under Gates, Greene, and Marion, of the revolutionary war, by which he was enabled to judge of their comparative merits, we insert it, that the present generation may form some idea of the loss sustained by the nation, in the resignation of general Harrison, produced by the course of general Armstrong in the war office.

Frankfort, May 15, 1814.

Dear Sir—The interest I feel for the prosperity of our beloved country, at all times, but especially in the common cause in which she is at present engaged, will, I flatter myself, be a sufficient apology for addressing you this letter. The motives which impel me, arise from considerations of public good, and are unknown to the gentleman who is the subject of the letter.

It is not my intention to eulogize general Harrison; he is not in need of that aid, his merits are too conspicuous not to be observed; but it is my intention to express to you with candor, my opinion of the general, founded on personal observation.

A rumor has reached this state, which, from the public prints, appears to be believed, that the commanding general of the northern army may be removed from that command. The circumstance has induced me to reflect on the subject, and give the decided preference to major-general Harrison, as a successor. Having served a campaign with general Harrison, by which I have been enabled to form some opinion of his military talents, and capacity to command, I feel no hesitation to declare to you, that I believe him to be one of the first military characters I ever knew; and, in addition to this, he is capable of making greater personal exertions than any officer with whom I have ever served. I doubt not but it will hereafter be found, that the command of the north-western army, and the various duties attached to it, has been

one of the most arduous and difficult tasks ever assigned to any officer in the United States; yet he surmounted all.

Impressed with the conviction, that general Harrison is fully adequate to the command of the northern army, should a change take place in that division, I have ventured thus freely to state my opinion of him, that he is a consummate general, and would fill that station with ability and honor; and that if, on the other hand, any arrangement should take place in the war department, which may produce the resignation of general Harrison, it will be a misfortune which our country will have cause to lament. His appointment to the command of the northern army would be highly gratifying to the wishes of the western people, except some who may, perhaps, be governed by sinister views.

I confess the first impressions upon my mind, when informed of the defeat of colonel Dudley's regiment, on the 5th of May last, were unfavorable to general Harrison's plans; but on correct information, and a knowledge of his whole plans, I have no doubt but they were well concerted, and might, with certainty, have been executed had his orders been strictly obeyed. I mention this subject, because Mr. H. Clay informed me that he had shown you my letter, stating the impressions which that affair had first made upon my mind, on information that was not correct.

Hoping that my opinion of this meritorious officer will not be unacceptable to you, I have candidly expressed it, and hoping the apology stated in the preceding part of this letter, will justify the liberty taken of intruding opinions unsolicited.

I have the honor to be, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

ISAAC SHELBY.

His Excellency, James Madison, President United States."

Having resigned his commission, he retired to his farm at "*North Bend*," fifteen miles below Cincinnati; and in the summer of that year he was, with governor Shelby and general Cass, appointed to treat with some of the tribes of north-western Indians. Governor Shelby declined the appointment, in consequence of his official duties, says the pamphlet referred to, and general Adair was selected in his place. The result of this commission was a treaty with the Indians at Greenville. In 1815 he was appointed the head of another commission to treat with the Indians relative to the territory held by them previous to the war; and in the council which was held at Detroit, he succeeded in making satisfactory treaties with nine important tribes.

At the congressional election of 1816, general Harrison was elected a member of the house of representatives of the United States, for the state of Ohio, by a majority of more than one thousand votes over the aggregate number given to six competitors, and took his seat on the 2d of December. On the 6th of that month he offered the following, which was agreed to without a division.

"*Resolved*, That the military committee be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing by law for the relief of such of the officers and soldiers, who, having faithfully served in the armies of the United States, are now in distressed circumstances, and who, not having received wounds or disabilities, whilst in actual service, are excluded from the benefits of the pension laws, and that the said committee report by bill or otherwise."

On the 30th of January, on his motion, the military committee was instructed to inquire into the expediency of granting a bounty of one hundred and sixty acres of land to all non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the army, who, having been enlisted previous to the 24th of December, 1811, are not entitled to said bounty, but who, having served faithfully through said war, have obtained an honorable discharge.

These propositions laid the foundation for the measures which so materially benefited the widows and orphans of the brave soldiers of the late war, who were objects of general Harrison's special care.

During the session of 1817—18, a bill was before the house to increase the compensation of members of congress from six dollars per day to nine dollars per day, and a motion being made (January 6, 1818) to strike out "nine" and insert "six" dollars as the daily compensation, general Harrison said that

"In explaining what would otherwise appear an inconsistency in the vote he was

about to give, he was aware that in order to preserve in congress talents of a proper grade, and to enable men of moderate property to come to congress without loss, a higher compensation was necessary than had heretofore been allowed to members of congress. But," said he, "holding, as we do, the key of the treasury, we ought not to do ourselves even justice, before we do it to others whose claims are stronger, and of longer standing. Whenever justice shall be done to the sufferers in the war of the revolution, and not till then, I shall be prepared to do justice to ourselves."

[The revolutionary pension bill had not then become a law, though it did pass before the close of that session.]

On the day following, (January 7,) the same bill being on its third reading, general Harrison said, "he was persuaded that the members of the house who had voted for a compensation beyond the ancient allowance of six dollars, had voted under great embarrassment, pressed as they were on the one hand by a sense of duty and justice, and on the other by that delicacy which must be felt when they were acting as judges in their own cause. He thought, however, that there was a mode by which their feelings might be saved, and which, if adopted, would be as highly acceptable to the people as it would be honorable to their representatives. It would evince a disinterestedness and magnanimity which could not fail to produce the most happy effects, and finally fix the compensation at the sum which their disinterested judgments should deem right. Being satisfied that it was a question to be determined rather by feeling than argument, he would say no more, but submit a resolution to recommit the bill, *with instructions to amend it so far as to fix the compensation for the present congress at six dollars, and for the ensuing congresses at eight dollars.*"

The motion to recommit, &c., was lost, however, by a large majority, and the bill passed as it stood, (applying to the existing congress,) by yeas 109, nays 16; general Harrison voted in the negative. (See Niles, vol. xiii. p. 328.)

On the 20th of January, 1818, he introduced the following resolution, and advocated it in the eloquent speech inserted below. See Niles, vol. xiii. pp. 357, 384.

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed jointly with such committee as may be appointed by the senate, to consider and report what measures it may be proper to adopt, to manifest the public respect for the memory of general Thaddeus Kosciusko, formerly an officer in the service of the United States, and the uniform and distinguished friend of liberty and the rights of man.

The public papers have announced an event which is well calculated to excite the sympathy of every American bosom. Kosciusko, the martyr of liberty, is no more! We are informed that he died at Soleure, in France, some time in October last.

In tracing the events of this great man's life, we find in him that consistency of conduct which is the more to be admired as it is so rarely to be met with. He was not at one time the friend of mankind, and at another the instrument of their oppression, but he preserved throughout his whole career those noble principles which distinguished him in its commencement—which influenced him at an early period of his life to leave his country and his friends, and in another hemisphere to fight for the rights of humanity.

Kosciusko was born and educated in Poland, of a noble and distinguished family—a country where the distinctions in society are perhaps carried to greater lengths than in any other. His Creator had, however, endowed him with a soul capable of rising above the narrow prejudices of a cast, and of breaking the shackles which a vicious education had imposed on his mind.

When very young, he was informed, by the voice of Fame, that the standard of liberty had been erected in America; that an insulted and oppressed people had determined to be free, or perish in the attempt. His ardent and generous mind caught with enthusiasm the holy flame, and from that moment he became the devoted soldier of liberty.

His rank in the American army afforded him no opportunity greatly to distinguish himself. But he was remarked throughout his service, for all the qualities which adorn the human character. His heroic conduct in the field, could only be equalled by his moderation and affability in the walks of private life. He was idolized by the soldiers for his bravery, and beloved and respected by the officers for the goodness of his heart, and the great qualities of his mind.

Contributing greatly, by his exertions, to the establishment of the independence of America, he might have remained, and shared the blessings it dispensed, under the protection of a chief who loved and honoured him, and in the bosom of a grateful and affectionate people.

Kosciusko had, however, other views. It is not known that, until the period I am speaking of, he had formed any distinct idea of what could, or indeed what ought, to be done for his own. But in the revolutionary war he drank deeply of the principles which produced it. In his conversations with the intelligent men of our country, he acquired new views of the science of government and the rights of man. He had seen too that to be free it was only necessary that a nation should will it, and to be happy it was only necessary that a nation should be free. And was it not possible to procure these blessings for Poland? For Poland, the country of his birth, which had a claim to all his efforts, to all his services? That unhappy nation groaned under a complication of evils which has scarcely a parallel in history. The mass of the people were the abject slaves of the nobles—the nobles, torn into factions, were alternately the instruments and the victims of their powerful and ambitious neighbours. By intrigue, corruption, and force, some of its fairest provinces had been separated from the republic, and the people, like beasts, transferred to foreign despots, who were again watching for a favorable moment for a second dismemberment. To regenerate a people thus debased—to obtain for a country thus circumstanced, the blessings of liberty and independence, was a work of as much difficulty as danger. But to a mind like Kosciusko's the difficulty and danger of an enterprise served as stimulants to undertake it.

The annals of these times give us no detailed account of the progress of Kosciusko in accomplishing his great work, from the period of his return from America to the adoption of the new constitution of Poland, in 1791. This interval, however, of apparent inaction, was most usefully employed to illumine the mental darkness which enveloped his countrymen. To stimulate the ignorant and bigoted peasantry with the hope of future emancipation—to teach a proud but gallant nobility that true glory is only to be found in the paths of duty and patriotism—interests the most opposed, prejudices the most stubborn, and habits the most inveterate, were reconciled, dissipated, and broken, by the ascendancy of his virtues and example. The storm which he had foreseen, and for which he had been preparing, at length burst upon Poland. A feeble and unpopular government bent before its fury, and submitted itself to the Russian yoke of the invader. But the nation disdained to follow its example; in their extremity every eye was turned on the hero who had already fought their battles —the sage who had enlightened them, and the patriot who had set the example of personal sacrifices to accomplish the emancipation of the people.

Kosciusko was unanimously appointed generalissimo of Poland, with unlimited powers, until the enemy should be driven from the country. On *his* virtue the nation reposed with the utmost confidence; and it is some consolation to reflect, amidst the general depravity of mankind, that two instances, in the same age, have occurred, where powers of this kind were employed solely for the purposes for which they were given.

It is not my intention, sir, to follow the Polish chief throughout the career of victory, which, for a considerable time crowned his efforts. Guided by his talents, and led by his valor, his undisciplined, illy armed militia charged with effect the veteran Russian and Prussian: the mailed cuirassiers of the great Frederic, for the first time, broke and fled before the lighter and appropriate cavalry of Poland. Hope filled the breasts of the patriots. After a long night, the dawn of an apparently glorious day broke upon Poland. But to the discerning eye of Kosciusko, the light which it shed was of that sickly and portentous appearance, indicating a storm more dreadful than that which he had resisted.

He prepared to meet it with firmness, but with means entirely inadequate. To the advantages of numbers, of tactics, of discipline, and inexhaustible resources, the combined despots had secured a faction in the heart of Poland. And if that country can boast of having produced its Washington, it is disgraced also by giving birth to a second Arnold. The day at length came which was to decide the fate of a nation and a hero. Heaven, for wise purposes, determined that it should be the last of Polish liberty. It was decided, indeed, before the battle commenced. The traitor

Poniski, who covered with a detachment the advance of the Polish army, abandoned his position to the enemy, and retreated.

Kosciusko was astonished, but not dismayed. The disposition of his army would have done honor to Hannibal. The succeeding conflict was terrible. When the talents of the general could no longer direct the mingled mass of combatants, the arm of the warrior was brought to the aid of his soldiers. He performed prodigies of valor. The fabled prowess of Ajax, in defending the Grecian ships, was realized by the Pelish hero. Nor was he badly seconded by his troops. As long as his voice could guide, or his example fire their valor, they were irresistible. In this unequal contest, Kosciusko was long seen, and finally lost to their view.

'Hope for a season bade the world farewell,
And freedom shriek'd when Kosciusko fell.'

He fell covered with wounds, but still survived. A Cossack would have pierced his breast, when an officer interposed. 'Suffer him to execute his purpose,' said the bleeding hero, 'I am the devoted soldier of my country, and will not survive its liberties.' The name of Kosciusko struck to the heart of the Tartar, like that of Marius upon the Cimbrian warrior. The uplifted weapon dropped from his hand.

Kosciusko was conveyed to the dungeons of Petersburgh—and, to the eternal disgrace of the empress Catharine, she made him the object of her vengeance, when he could no longer be the object of her fears. Her more generous son restored him to liberty. The remainder of his life has been spent in virtuous retirement. Whilst in this situation in France, an anecdote is related of him which strongly illustrates the command which his virtues and his services had obtained over the minds of his countrymen.

In the late invasion of France, some Polish regiments, in the service of Russia, passed through the village in which he lived. Some pillaging of the inhabitants brought Kosciusko from his cottage. 'When I was a Polish soldier,' said he, addressing the plunderers, 'the property of the peaceful citizen was respected.' 'And who art thou,' said an officer, 'who addresses us with this tone of authority?' 'I am Kosciusko.'—There was magic in the word. It ran from corps to corps. The march was suspended. They gathered round him, and gazed, with astonishment and awe, upon the mighty ruin he presented. 'Could it indeed be their hero,' whose fame was identified with that of their country? A thousand interesting reflections burst upon their minds; they remembered his patriotism, his devotion to liberty, his triumphs, and his glorious fall. Their iron hearts were softened, and the tear of sensibility trickled down their weather-beaten faces. We can easily conceive, sir, what would be the feelings of the hero himself in such a scene. His great heart must have heaved with emotion, to find himself once more surrounded by the companions of his glory; and that he would have been upon the point of saying to them:—

'Behold your general, come once more
To lead you on to laurel'd victory,
To fame, to freedom.'

The delusion could have lasted but for a moment. He was himself, alas! a miserable cripple; and, for them! they were no longer the soldiers of liberty, but the instruments of ambition and tyranny. Overwhelmed with grief at the reflection, he would retire to his cottage, to mourn afresh over the miseries of his country.

Such was the man, sir, for whose memory I ask from an American congress, a slight tribute of respect. Not, sir, to perpetuate his fame—but our gratitude. His fame will last as long as liberty remains upon the earth; as long as a votary offers incense upon her altar, the name of Kosciusko will be invoked. And if, by the common consent of the world, a temple shall be erected to those who have rendered most service to mankind, if the statue of our great countryman shall occupy the place of the 'most worthy,' that of Kosciusko will be found by his side, and the wreath of laurel will be entwined with the palm of virtue to adorn his brow."

In the House of Representatives, January 22,

Mr. Harrison, of Ohio, offered the following resolution,

Resolved, That this house, entertain the highest respect for the memory of general

Kosciusko, his services, &c. the members thereof will testify the same by wearing crape on the left arm for one month.

After some debate, Mr. Harrison withdrew his resolution altogether."

On the above the *National Intelligencer* remarks:—"The short debate on this question is reserved, but shall certainly be given at a future day, in justice to the subject. It is enough now to state, that the merits of Kosciusko, the advocate of freedom, and the friend of man, were fully admitted; but, it was shown, that no such respect as was now proposed had been paid to any of the departed worthies native or foreign, who had aided in the achievement of our independence, except in the single case of general Washington, which was admitted to be an exception to all general rules. Having, as recently as 1810, refused a like tribute to the memory of colonel William Washington, on his decease, it was too late now, it was deemed, to commence a new system in this respect."

The above are but a few evidences of general Harrison's zeal, ability, and usefulness in the house of representatives, and of his great desire to promote individual happiness, and the national honor and welfare. He was ready and eloquent in debate; and in the minor details of duty his conduct was marked by the most exemplary punctuality and attention, especially to the interests of his immediate constituents.

On the 11th of March, 1816, the speaker of the house of representatives of the United States laid before that body the following letter from General Harrison, soliciting an inquiry into the expenditure of public money in the eighth military district, while under his command; which was read and referred to the committee on public expenditure. See Niles, vol. x. pp. 46 and 88.

"*North Bend, Ohio, Dec.* 20, 1815.

"Sir—I should apologize for this intrusion upon the time of the house of representatives, if I considered the subject upon which I address them exclusively of a private and personal nature. Although the investigation I solicit is of the utmost importance to myself, it will, I conceive, be readily admitted, that both the national honor and interest are deeply concerned in the result. My object is to obtain an inquiry into the expenditure of public money within the eighth military district, whilst under my command, and particularly whatever relates to the supplies of provision by the special commissaries of the United States, and under the contract of Messrs. Orr and Greely. My reasons for making this application, and the particular claim I conceive myself to have upon the indulgence of the house of representatives, are most respectfully submitted to them, through you, sir, in the following statement:—

Shortly after the adjournment of congress in 1814, I was informed that the honorable Mr. Fisk, the chairman of a committee which had been appointed to inquire into some complaints of the army contractors, had declared to one of the western delegation, that documents had been submitted to that committee which were deeply injurious to my public character. I immediately addressed a letter to Mr. Fisk of Vermont, demanding an explanation of this declaration. From the answer of this gentleman I learned that I had mistaken him for another of the same name, a representative from the state of New York, and who was the chairman of the committee alluded to. To the latter, at the commencement of the last session of congress, a similar letter was sent. In his answer he denied having used the expressions concerning me, which had been made to the committee supported by authentic documents, chiefly my own letters, all showing a wonderful inconsistency in the orders given to the contractors for supplying the army with provisions. Being perfectly convinced that these documents were very artful mutilations of my letters to the contractors and the secretary of war, I transmitted to Mr. Fisk, through the honorable Mr. Hawkins of Kentucky, all the original letters and papers in my possession relating to the subject of the supplies I had demanded of Orr and Greely. These papers were accompanied by an explanatory statement from me, and a request to Mr. Hawkins to bring the affair before congress, should he deem it necessary to the vindication of my character. It was not until very late in the session that Mr. Fisk could spare a moment from his public duties to devote to my affair. In the answer, however, with which he honored me, he was pleased to express much satisfaction at the information contained in my memoir, and to add, that 'if the documents (which accompanied it) had been exhibited to the committee of

investigation, they would, he was persuaded, have made an impression upon the minds of that committee different from that produced by the imperfect information which was received.' That a committee should have thought proper to investigate the conduct of a general officer commanding an army, without his knowing it, and to suffer their minds to receive unfavorable impressions concerning him, upon the imperfect information furnished by his enemies, is, I am persuaded, a novel procedure with the representatives of the people, who are the guardians of their rights and privileges. I am confident, however, that the committee acted from no previous hostility to me; and I attribute their conduct to inadvertency, produced by the pressure of important business at the momentous period of our affairs. It is nevertheless certain, that these impressions of the committee have been communicated to others, and malice and hatred have given them currency in a considerable portion of the union. To resist this torrent of calumny, I have no alternative but to solicit an investigation. If the granting of this favor is beyond the merits of an officer who has spent the greatest portion of his life in the service of the public, it will be accorded to the claims of the nation, and to the vindication of the honor and character of the country. The annals of the late war will not record the treachery of a second Arnold, but they will give to posterity an instance of military crime scarcely less detestable than that foul blot in our revolutionary history. If any other officer of high rank and trust can be truly charged with a crime so disgraceful as that of speculating upon the funds of his army, it will, in the estimation of the world, detract largely from the blaze of renown with which the achievements of Brown and Jackson have encircled the nation; and I humbly conceive, that no pains should be spared to ascertain the guilt or innocence of the late war, for the diversion of the public funds to individual purposes would have been equally fatal with treason, and merits punishment as severe. For myself, I was well aware that the treasury could scarcely answer the weighty demands which were made upon it by the military department; and knowing, as I well did, the heroic valor of our countrymen, in common with every patriot—I believed that America had no cause of alarm but for the inadequacy of her fiscal arrangements. To some it may appear idle to speak of punishing a man for a military crime who no longer holds a military commission. The right of the government to do this, however, is in my opinion incontrovertible. The principle being as well settled as any other in relation to the proceedings and jurisdiction of courts martial, which are derived from the 'custom of war.' It was the practice of all the ancient republics, and in England, from whence we derive our military as well as our civil common law; the precedent was established in the case of lord George Sackville, who for alleged misconduct at the battle of Minden, was brought before a military tribunal and cashiered long after his resignation had been accepted. If in the inquiry I solicit, any thing should appear to create a doubt as to the purity of my conduct in the command of the army that was entrusted to me, let a court martial decide my fate. I promise most solemnly to admit its jurisdiction and abide its decision.

I make this application to the house of representatives with the fullest confidence that it will not be rejected: It is the only reward I claim for a long course of laborious and faithful service. The greater the latitude which is given to the inquiry, the better shall I like it: and I most respectfully request that it may embrace the following points: Whether any supplies were ever demanded by me of the contractors, Orr and Greely, which were not called for by the state of the army, and warranted by the conditions of their contract: Whether any injustice was done to the said Orr and Greely, by any order given by me to the purchasing or special commissaries of the army: Whether there is reason to believe that any sentiment of hostility existed in my mind towards the said contractors, and which operated injuriously to their interests, either by forcing them to do what was unnecessary, or withholding from them any thing that they had a right to claim: Whether there is any reason to believe that any connection (other than that which the relations of our commissions necessarily produced) existed between myself and any of the staff officers of the army; and generally whatever relates to the expenditure of public money for the support of the north-western army, as far as I may have been concerned.

These points will embrace every thing that any but a military tribunal is competent to decide. The inquiry will, I trust, produce a perfect conviction that the measures

which were adopted, were those alone by which the subsistence of the army could have been maintained.

I have forwarded to the representatives of the district in which I live, a number of original documents with an explanatory statement, these, together with the testimony of colonel Morrison, late quarter-master-general, and Mr. Piatt, late purchasing commissary, both of whom will be at the seat of government, will furnish every information necessary to my vindication. With the highest consideration, I have the honor to be, sir, your humble servant,

WM. HENRY HARRISON,
Late major general in the United States army.

The honorable the speaker of the house of representatives.

On the 29th of April the whole subject was referred to the secretary of war, with directions to report thereon at the next session.

At the next session, the secretary of war made a report, which was referred to a select committee, at the head of which was colonel Richard M. Johnson, the present vice-president of the United States. On the 22d of January, 1817, the committee made the following report. See Niles, vol. xi. p. 396.

"The select committee of the house of representatives, to whom was referred the letter and documents from the acting secretary of war, on the subject of general Harrison's letter, ask leave to REPORT—That they have investigated the facts involved in this inquiry, by the examination of documents, and a great number of most respectable witnesses, personally acquainted with the transactions from which the inquiry originated. And the committee are unanimously of opinion, that general Harrison stands above suspicion, as to his having any pecuniary or improper connection with the officers of the commissariat for the supply of the army; that he did not wantonly or improperly interfere with the rights of the contractors, and that he was, in his measures, governed by the proper zeal and devotion to the public interest.

The committee beg leave to be discharged from the further consideration of the subject; and as the papers refer in part to the conduct and transactions of the contractors of the north-western army, where accounts are unsettled, and only incidentally involved in this inquiry, that the papers be transmitted to the department of war.

After the report was read, Mr. HULBERT said, that having the honor to be one of the committee who made the report which was then before the house, he felt it his duty to make a few remarks upon it.

The committee, he said, considered the subject an important one. It was interesting to the public, and highly and especially so to general Harrison. The character of that gentleman had been impeached. They, therefore, determined to make the investigation as full and thorough as should be in their power. With such views and sentiments they entered upon the inquiry. They had notified a gentleman who had made charges in writing against the general, and requested his attendance upon the committee, and he had more than once attended. They had read and considered all the documents and papers which they could obtain, and which they thought calculated to throw light on the inquiry, and had examined many respectable witnesses, and the investigation had resulted in a firm belief, and a unanimous opinion of the committee, that the insinuations and complaints which had been made against general Harrison, and which were the foundation of his application to congress, were unmerited, groundless, and unjust.

Mr. Hulbert said it gave him pleasure to make these declarations. He considered himself doing an act of justice to an injured individual. He said he must acknowledge, that he had entertained impressions very unfavorable to the general. The complaints, which had been made against him, had spread far and wide. The bane and antidote had not gone together. He rejoiced that this inquiry had been made, and he had no hesitation in saying, that, so far as the report of the committee should defend, before the public, the conduct and character of general Harrison, it would promote the cause of truth and justice.

Mr. Hulbert said, that the general had been charged with unjust and oppressive conduct, in relation to the contractors in the army under his command. He said he was entirely satisfied that the general had interfered only in those cases, where he

thought his duty to the public imperiously required it. In saying this, he meant to cast no imputation upon the contractors; he spoke only of what he believed to be the motives of general Harrison.

The most serious accusation against the general was, that, while he was commander-in-chief in the west, regardless of his country's good, he was in the habit of managing the public concerns with a view to his own private interest and emolument.—Mr. Hulbert said he could not refrain from pronouncing this a false and cruel accusation. He was confident that directly the reverse was true. *There was the most satisfactory evidence, that the general, in the exercise of his official duties, in his devotion to the public interest, had neglected his private concerns, to his material detriment and injury.* In a word, said Mr. Hulbert, I feel myself authorized to say, that every member of the committee is fully satisfied, that the conduct of general Harrison, in relation to the subject matter of this inquiry, has been that of a brave, honest, and honorable man; that, instead of deserving censure, he merits the thanks and applause of his country."

The committee was discharged from the further consideration of the subject, and the papers transmitted to the war department.

The enemies of general Harrison's fame have endeavoured to pervert the proceedings in the senate in 1816, in relation to the proposition to present him with a gold medal and the thanks of congress, and thus to create an impression that he was deemed unworthy of such a distinguished honor. The following is a faithful account of the proceedings.

In Niles, vol. x. p. 125, will be found the following among the proceedings of the senate, on the 13th of April, 1816.

"The senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution directing medals to be struck, and, together with the thanks of congress, presented to major-general Harrison and governor Shelby, and for other purposes.

After some discussion on the expediency of adopting such a resolution at this time, and of coupling the name of general Harrison and governor Shelby—

Mr. LACOCK moved to amend the resolution by striking therefrom 'major-general William Henry Harrison.'

This motion was determined in the affirmative by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Dana, Gaillard, Gore, Hunter, King, LACOCK, Mason, N. H. Roberts, Tait, Thompson, Tichenor, Turner, Varnum—13.

Nays—Barbour, Barry, Condict, Horsey, Macon, Morrow, Ruggles, Talbot, Wells, Williams—11.

The further consideration of the subject was then postponed to a day in next week, on motion of Mr. Roberts."

On the 20th of the same month, Niles, vol. x. p. 151, "The senate resumed the consideration of the resolution for presenting medals and the thanks of congress to major-general Harrison and governor Shelby. On the question to concur in the previous decision to strike out the name of major-general William Henry Harrison, it was decided in the negative, as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Campbell, Daggett, Gaillard, Gore, King, LACOCK, Mason, N. H. Mason, Va. Roberts, Tait, Tichenor, Turner, Varnum—13.

Nays—Messrs. Barbour, Barry, Chace, Condict, Harper, Horsey, Macon, Morrow, Ruggles, Sanford, Talbot, Wells, Williams, Wilson—14.

The resolution was then, on motion of Mr. Horsey, recommitted to the military committee."

When governor Shelby heard of the effort in the senate to strike out general Harrison's name, he wrote to his old commander, under date of May 16th, 1816, as follows; "Don't let the conduct of the senate disturb your mind. I hope their resolution has been laid over as to both of us. The moment I heard of the course it was like to take, I wrote instantly to Mr. Clay, and expressed my regret that it had been introduced, and how mortified I should feel to be noticed, if you were not included, who had rendered ten times more service to the nation than I had."

The military committee did not report on the subject at that session; but at the next session, on the 24th of March, 1818, (Niles, vol. xiv. p. 185,) Mr. Dickerson, of the United States senate, formerly governor of New Jersey, and recently secretary of the navy, a man of the purest patriotism, and the most honorable character, agreeably to notice given on the previous day, asked leave to introduce a resolution offering the thanks of congress to major-general Wm. Henry Harrison and Isaac Shelby, late governor of Kentucky, for their distinguished bravery and good conduct in capturing the British army, under the command of major-general Proctor, at the battle of the Thames, in Upper Canada, on the 5th of October, 1813.

I should not, said, Mr. Dickerson, at this late day, highly as I think of the merits of those officers who, in co-operation with the hero of Lake Erie, turned the tide of war in our favor, bring forward the present resolution, if no similar attempt had heretofore been made in their favor, but would leave their fame to rest upon the testimony of impartial history, which has already done ample justice to their characters.

Two years ago, a resolution like the present, was reported to this house by the chairman of the committee on military affairs, by direction of that committee. This resolution was opposed on two grounds, applying solely to general Harrison, as I have been informed (for I had not then the honor of being a member of this body)—the first, that an inquiry was at that time depending before the house of representatives, into the official conduct of general Harrison, as commander-in-chief of the north-western army, upon charges which, if well founded, were calculated essentially to injure his character; the second, that a rumor prevailed, that general Harrison had discovered some reluctance in pursuing Proctor and his army, after Perry's victory on Lake Erie, and that he had been forced to the pursuit by the remonstrances of governor Shelby, and that this information had been derived from the declarations of governor Shelby. These charges, utterly unfounded, as they turned out to be, were deemed a sufficient reason for postponing a decision of the report of the committee, until the result of the inquiry before the house of representatives should at least be known. The resolution, after some discussion, was referred to the committee who reported it, further to consider and report thereon. As the session was near to its close, no further report was made, and indeed no further report could with propriety have been made, until the investigation before the house of representatives should be brought to a termination. This did not happen till the 23d of January, 1817, a little more than a month before the termination of a very important session, when the public business of the most pressing kind required the entire attention of congress, so that this subject could not with propriety have been renewed until the present session.

As the friends of general Harrison have in their power completely to obviate every objection heretofore made to the passage of this resolution, it is their duty to bring this subject again before congress, more especially as the journals of this house, if left unexplained, imply a censure upon the conduct of general Harrison, which certainly was never intended. I will confess, for one, from a perusal of the journals of this house, the military reputation of general Harrison, sunk in my estimation: and I believe this confession might be made by three-fourths of the citizens of the United States, who read the proceedings of congress, and who had not an intimate knowledge of the character and conduct of general Harrison. I should reproach myself for having suffered such an impression to be made upon my mind if the means of correcting it had also been found upon our journals; those journals did not then afford the means of correct information upon this subject, nor do they till this day.

As to the first objection, that an investigation was depending in the house of representatives, into the official conduct of general Harrison, the result of that investigation was in the highest degree honorable to his character. The committee to whom the subject was referred, were unanimously of opinion that general Harrison stood above suspicion of being implicated in the charges exhibited against him, and that in his whole conduct as commander-in-chief of the north-western army, he was governed by a laudable zeal for, and devotion to, the public service and interest.

The second objection made to the passage of the resolution, if well founded, was calculated to give to governor Shelby the entire and exclusive merit of having urged the pursuit of Proctor and his army. But Shelby, generous as he is brave, disclaims this exclusive merit, in a letter which I will beg leave to read, denies in the most posi-

tive terms having used the language ascribed to him, and he gives to general Harrison the highest praise for his promptitude and vigilance in pursuing Proctor; for the skill with which he arranged his troops for meeting the enemy, and for his distinguished bravery during the battle. He states that the duties of general Harrison, as commander-in-chief of the north-western army, were in the highest degree arduous; but that, from the zeal and fidelity with which they were performed, they could not have been committed to better hands. Of these particulars no one could know better, no one could judge better, than governor Shelby. I have many other documents and papers to show that governor Shelby was not mistaken in the statements which he has made, which I will read if any doubt shall be expressed upon this subject. I trust, however, that no such doubt will be entertained, and am confident that honorable gentlemen will now, upon a full knowledge of the facts, feel a pleasure in awarding to general Harrison that testimony of applause which a sense of duty induced them formerly to withhold.

I shall not pronounce any encomiums upon the gallantry of the venerable patriot, the intrepid hero, governor Shelby. His distinguished services during the late war, as well as those of the revolution, will be remembered to the latest posterity—of him and the brave officers and men who, under the command of general Harrison, achieved the glorious victory at the battle of the Thames, one sentiment pervades the union, that they merit every mark of distinction which congress, and a grateful country can bestow.

Mr. Dickerson then offered the following resolution:

Resolved, by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America, in congress assembled, That the thanks of congress be, and they are hereby presented to major-general William Henry Harrison, and Isaac Shelby, late governor of Kentucky, and through them to the officers and men under their command, for their gallantry and good conduct in defeating the combined British and Indian forces, under major-general Proctor, on the Thames, in Upper Canada, on the fifth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, capturing the entire British army, with their baggage, camp equipage, and artillery; and that the president of the United States be requested to cause two gold medals to be struck, emblematical of this triumph, and presented to general Harrison, and Isaac Shelby, late governor of Kentucky.

The resolution was modified, by striking out the word "entire," in the seventh line, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, and was subsequently passed by *the unanimous vote of the senate.*

On the 30th of March, this joint resolution was sent to the house of representatives, (Niles, vol. xiv. p. 103,) read three times, and *passed*, "with *one* dissenting voice;" and on the 4th of April, it received the approval of the president. It is inserted in Niles, vol. xiv. p. 208, signed according to law.

The medal is about two inches in diameter; on the face is a bust of general Harrison, encircled with the words "*Major-General William H. Harrison.*" On the reverse, a female figure, with a spear in her right hand, is in the act of placing with her left, a laurel crown upon some military trophies, from which is suspended a scroll, bearing the words, "*Fort Meigs, Battle of the Thames.*" It is beautifully executed, and the material is of the finest gold.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL HARRISON DECLINES A RE-ELECTION TO CONGRESS—ELECTED TO THE STATE SENATE OF OHIO—FALSE CHARGE AGAINST HIM ABOUT "SELLING DEBTORS IN CERTAIN CASES"—APPOINTED MINISTER TO COLOMBIA—RECALLED BY GENERAL JACKSON—HIS LETTER TO BOLIVAR.

General Harrison declined a re-election to congress; but yielding to the solicitations of his friends, he consented to become a candidate for a seat in the state senate of Ohio, to which he was elected in the fall of 1819. In that body he rendered import-

ant services to the state; but his conduct as a state senator gave rise to one absurd charge, which cannot be better explained and refuted, than by inserting the following letter from him in reply to the editor of the "Hamilton, (Butler co. Ohio) Intelligencer," in which paper it first appeared.

"*North Bend, 22d December*, 1821.

SIR—In your paper of the 15th instant, I observed a most violent attack upon eleven other members of the late senate and myself, for a supposed vote given at the last session for the passage of a law to 'sell debtors in certain cases.' If such had been our conduct, I acknowledge that we should not only deserve the censure which the writer has bestowed on us, but the execration of every honest man in society. An act of this kind is not only opposed to the principles of justice and humanity, but would be a palpable violation of the constitution of the state, which every legislator is sworn to support; and sanctioned by a house of representatives and twelve senators, it would indicate a state of depravity which would fill every patriotic bosom with the most alarming anticipations. But the fact is, that no such proposition was ever made in the legislature or even thought of. The act to which the writer alludes, has no more relation to the collection of 'debts,' than it has to the discovery of longitude. It was an act for the punishment of offences against the state, and that part of it which has so deeply wounded the feelings of your correspondent, was passed by the house of representatives, and voted for by the twelve senators, under the impression that it was the most mild and humane mode of dealing with the offenders for whose cases it was intended. It was adopted by the house of representatives as a part of the general system of criminal law, which was then undergoing a complete revision and amendment; the necessity of this is evinced by the following facts: for several years past, it had become apparent that the Penitentiary system was becoming more and more burdensome at every session; a large appropriation was called for to meet the excess of expenditure, above the receipts of the establishment. In the commencement of the session of 1820, the deficit amounted to near twenty thousand dollars.

This growing evil required the immediate interposition of some vigorous legislative measure; two were recommended as being likely to produce the effect; first, placing the institution under better management; and secondly, lessening the number of convicts who were sentenced for short periods, and whose labour was found of course to be most unproductive. In pursuance of the latter principle, thefts to the amount of fifty dollars, or upwards, were subjected to punishment in the Penitentiary, instead of ten dollars, which was the former minimum sum; this was easily done. But the great difficulty remained to determine what should be the punishment of those numerous larcenies below the sum of fifty dollars. By some, whipping was proposed, by others, punishment by hard labor in the county jails, and by others, it was thought best to make them work on the highways.

To all these there appeared insuperable objections: fine and imprisonment was adopted by the house of representatives, as the only alternative; and as it was well known that these vexatious pilferings were generally perpetrated by the most worthless vagabonds in society, it was added that when they could not pay the fines and costs, which are always part of the sentence and punishment, their services should be sold out to any person who would pay their fines and costs for them. This was the clause which was passed, as I believe, by a unanimous vote of the house, and stricken out in the senate, in opposition to the twelve who have been denominated. A little further trouble in examining the journals, would have shown your correspondent that this was considered as a substitute for whipping, which was lost in the senate, and in the house by a small majority, after being once passed.

I think, Mr. Editor, I have said enough to show that this obnoxious law would not have applied to 'unfortunate debtors of sixty-four years,' but to infamous offenders, who depredate upon the property of their fellow-citizens, and who, by the constitution of the state, as well as the principle of existing laws, were subject to involuntary servitude. I must confess I had no very sanguine expectations of beneficial effects from this measure, as it would apply to convicts who had attained the age of maturity. But I had supposed that a woman or a youth, who was convicted of an offence, and remained in jail for the payment of the fine and costs imposed, might with great advantage be transferred to the residence of some decent, virtuous, private family, whose precept and example would greatly lead them back to the paths of virtue. I

would appeal to the candor of your correspondent to say whether if there were an individual confined under the circumstances I have mentioned, for whose fate he was interested, he would not gladly see him transferred, from the filthy enclosure of a jail, and the still more filthy inhabitants, to the comfortable mansion of some virtuous citizen, whose admonition would check his vicious propensities, and whose authority over him, would be no more than is exercised over thousands of apprentices in our country, and those bound servants, which are tolerated in our, as well as in every other state in the Union. Far from advocating the abominable principles attributed to me by your correspondent, I think that imprisonment for debt, under any circumstances but those where fraud is alleged, is at war with the best principles of our constitution, and ought to be abolished. I am, sir, your humble servant,

(Signed) WM. HENRY HARRISON."

"In the autumn of 1822, general Harrison, being a candidate for congress, published a short address to the voters of his district, in which he sums up his political principles. We subjoin a portion of it,* breathing the pure spirit of sound republicanism.

'I believe, that upon the preservation of the union of the states depends the existence of our civil and religious liberties; and that the cement which binds it together is not a parcel of words, written upon paper or parchments, but the brotherly love and regard which the citizens of the several states possess for each other. Destroy this, and the beautiful fabric which was reared and embellished by our ancestors crumbles into ruins. From its disjointed parts no temple of liberty will again be reared. Discord and wars will succeed to peace and harmony—barbarism will again overspread the land; or, what is scarcely better, some kindly tyrant will promulgate the decrees of his will, from the seat where a Washington and a Jefferson dispensed the blessings of a free and equal government. I believe it, therefore, to be the duty of a representative to conciliate, by every possible means, the members of our great political family, and always to bear in mind that *as the union was effected only by a spirit of mutual concession and forbearance, so only can it be preserved.*'

In the year 1824, the legislature of Ohio elected general Harrison to the senate of the United States, in which body, soon after taking his seat, he succeeded general Jackson as chairman of the committee on military affairs. While a member of that body, among other measures, he strongly advocated a bill giving a preference, in the appointment of cadets to the military academy at West Point, to the *sons of those who had fallen in battle, in their country's service.*

While in the senate, John Randolph, of Virginia, took occasion to renew an old charge against general Harrison, of his having been a black-cockade federalist of '98, and of having voted for the alien and sedition laws of that period. As soon as Mr. Randolph had taken his seat, general Harrison rose, and with remarkable coolness and temper, considering the virulent and unprovoked character of the attack, he observed: 'that the extraordinary manner in which his name had been brought before the senate, by the senator from Virginia, probably required some notice from him, though he scarcely knew how to treat such a charge as had been advanced against him seriously. The gentleman had charged him with being a black-cockade federalist of '98, and with having voted for the standing army and the alien and sedition laws. He had not so fertile a memory as the gentleman from Virginia, nor could he at command call up all the transactions of nearly thirty years ago. He could say, however, that at the time alluded to, he was not a party man in the sense the senator from Virginia used. He was a delegate of a territory which was just then rising into importance, and having no vote on the general questions before congress, it was neither his duty nor the interest of those whom he represented to plunge into the turbulent sea of general politics which then agitated the nation. There were questions of great importance to the north-western territory before congress, questions upon the proper settlement of which, the future prosperity of that now important portion of the Union greatly depended. Standing as he did, the sole representative of that territory, his greatest ambition was to prove himself faithful to his trust, by cherishing its interests, and nothing could have been more suicidal or pernicious to those he represented, than for

* Sketches, &c.

him to exasperate either party by becoming a violent partisan, without the power of aiding either party, because he had no vote on any political question. This was his position, and although he had his political principles as firmly fixed as those of the gentleman from Virginia, it was no business of his to strike where he could not be felt, and where the blow must recoil upon himself and those whom he represented. He wore no cockade, black or tri-colored, at that day—and never wore one but when he was in the military service of his country. But he was seriously charged with the heinous offence of association with *federal* gentlemen. He plead guilty—he respected the revolutionary services of president Adams, and had paid him that courtesy which was due to him as a man and as chief magistrate. He also associated with such men as John Marshall and James A. Bayard—was the acknowledgment of such guilt to throw him out of the pale of political salvation?

On the other hand he was on intimate terms with Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Gallatin, and with the whole Virginia delegation, among whom he had many kinsmen and dear friends. They were his principal associates in Philadelphia, in whose mess he had often met the gentleman who was now his accuser, and with whom he had spent some of the happiest hours of his life. It was true, as the senator had alleged, he had been appointed governor of the north-western territory by John Adams—so had he been by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. He was not in congress when the standing army was created, and the alien and sedition laws were passed, and if he had been, he could not have voted for them, and would not if he could. It was not in his nature to be a violent or proscriptive partisan, but he had given a firm support to the republican administrations of Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. He hoped the senator from Virginia was answered—he was sure the senate must be wearied with this frivolous and unprofitable squabble.'"

In the latter part of the year 1828, general Harrison was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the republic of *Colombia*, and sailed on his mission the 10th of November, from New York, in the United States ship *Erie*. He arrived at Bogota on the 5th of February, 1829, and presented his credentials on the 27th, and was received in the most flattering manner. Niles, vol. xxxv. p. 181, and vol. xxxvi. p. 121.

The official government journal, at Bogota, (Niles, vol. xxxvi. p. 134,) on announcing his arrival, said:—"We congratulate Colombia on beholding the interest which is manifested by the government of the United States, to cultivate the friendly relations with this republic, by sending among us so distinguished a citizen as general Harrison. The government has full confidence that his *permanent residence* in this capital, will contribute generally to strengthen the harmony and good understanding which happily exist between the two nations."

General Jackson was inaugurated president of the United States on the 4th of March, 1829, and on the 8th of that month, or *thirty-one days* after general Harrison reached Bogota, he was recalled; and *Thomas P. Moore*, of Kentucky, appointed his successor.

The above facts are a sufficient refutation of the charge, that he was recalled in consequence of his interference in the political affairs of Colombia; for the government of the United States could not have been officially informed of his arrival at Bogota at the time the appointment was conferred upon Mr. Moore: and it will, also, be seen that general Harrison's celebrated letter to Bolivar, inserted in subsequent pages, *was written more than six months after Mr. Moore's appointment, and not delivered to Bolivar until general Harrison's official duties had terminated*—for Mr. Moore arrived at Bogota in September, and was presented on the 26th of that month, on which day general Harrison had his audience of leave; and on the next day, when general Harrison was a *private citizen*, the letter was written. Bolivar was absent when general Harrison took his leave; but it is evident, from the following extract from the address of the council, that the most friendly relations existed between him and the government, at the time of his departure, and that it had no cause to complain of his private or official conduct.

"In expressing to you, sir, the sentiments of this council towards your government, it is agreeable to me to declare, that the hopes formed by Colombia, when the appointment was announced of so distinguished a general, and one of the most eminent citizens of the oldest republic of America, *had been realized by your residence*

in this capital, as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary near this government; and therefore it is highly satisfactory to me to show the high esteem which your personal qualities have inspired."

The following is his letter to Bolivar, which has commanded general admiration by the beauty and energy of its style, and the sound and patriotic admonitions which mark every sentence. It is, indeed, a most eloquent appeal to the best and most noble feelings of our nature, and alone should win for the author the respect and admiration of every lover of civil liberty.

"*Bogota, 27th September*, 1829.

"SIR—If there is any thing in the style, the matter, or the object of this letter, which is calculated to give offence to your excellency, I am persuaded you will readily forgive it, when you reflect on the motives which induced me to write it. An old soldier could possess no feelings but those of the kindest character towards one who has shed so much lustre on the profession of arms; nor can a citizen of the country of Washington cease to wish that, in Bolivar, the world might behold another instance of the highest military attainments, united with the purest patriotism, and the greatest capacity for civil government.

Such, sir, have been the fond hopes, not only of the people of the United States, but of the friends of liberty throughout the world. I will not say that your excellency has formed projects to defeat these hopes. But there is no doubt that they have not only been formed, but are, at this moment, in progress to maturity, and openly avowed by those who possess your entire confidence. I will not attribute to these men impure motives; but can they be disinterested advisers? Are they not the very persons who will gain most by the proposed change?—who will, indeed, gain all that is to be gained, without furnishing any part of the equivalent? That *that*, the price of their future wealth and honors, is to be furnished exclusively by yourself? And of what does it consist? Your great character. Such a one, that, if a man were wise, and possessed of the empire of the Cæsars, in its best days, he would give all to obtain. Are you prepared to make this sacrifice for such an object?

I am persuaded that those who advocate these measures have never dared to induce you to adopt them, by any argument founded on your personal interests; and that, to succeed, it would be necessary to convince you that no other course remained to save the country from the evils of anarchy. This is the question, then, to be examined.

Does the history of this country, since the adoption of the constitution, really exhibit unequivocal evidence that the people are unfit to be free? Is the exploded opinion of a European philosopher, of the last age, that "in the new hemisphere man is a degraded being," to be renewed, and supported by the example of Colombia? The proofs should, indeed, be strong, to induce an American to adopt an opinion so humiliating.

Feeling always a deep interest in the success of the revolutions in the late Spanish America, I have never been an inattentive observer of events, pending and posterior to the achievement of its independence. In these events, I search in vain for a single fact to show that, in Colombia at least, the state of society is unsuited to the adoption of a free government. Will it be said that a free government did exist, but, being found inadequate to the objects for which it had been instituted, it has been superseded by one of a different character, with the concurrence of a majority of the people?

It is the most difficult thing in the world for me to believe that a people in the possession of their rights as freemen, would ever be willing to surrender them, and submit themselves to the will of a master. If any such instances are on record, the power thus transferred has been in a moment of extreme public danger, and then limited to a very short period. I do not think that it is by any means certain, that the majority of the French people favored the elevation of Napoleon to the throne of France. But, if it were so, how different were the circumstances of that country from those of Colombia, when the constitution of Cucuta was overthrown! At the period of the elevation of Napoleon to the first consulate, all the powers of Europe were the open or secret enemies of France; civil war raged within her borders; the hereditary king possessed many partisans in every province; the people, continually betrayed by the factions which murdered and succeeded each other, had imbibed a portion of their ferocity, and every town and village witnessed the indiscriminate slaughter of both men and women, of all parties and principles. Does the history of Colombia, since

the expulsion of the Spaniards, present any parallel to these scenes? Her frontiers have been never seriously menaced; no civil war raged; not a partisan of the former government was to be found in the whole extent of her territory; no factions contended with each other for the possession of power; the executive government remained in the hands of those to whom it had been committed by the people, in a fair election. In fact, no people ever passed from under the yoke of a despotic government, to the enjoyment of entire freedom, with less disposition to abuse their newly-acquired power, than those of Colombia. They submitted, indeed, to a continuance of some of the most arbitrary and unjust features which distinguished the former government. If there was any disposition, on the part of the great mass of the people, to effect any change in the existing order of things; if the Colombians act from the same motives and upon the same principles which govern mankind elsewhere, and in all ages, they would have desired to take from the government a part of the power which, in their inexperience, they had confided to it. The monopoly of certain articles of agricultural produce, and the oppressive duty of the Alcavala, might have been tolerated, until the last of their tyrants were driven from the country. But when peace was restored, when not one enemy remained within its borders, it might reasonably have been supposed that the people would have desired to abolish these remains of arbitrary government, and substitute for them some tax more equal and accordant with republican principles.

On the contrary, it is pretended that they had become enamoured with these despotic measures, and so disgusted with the freedom they did enjoy, that they were more than willing to commit their destinies to the uncontrolled will of your excellency. Let me assure you, sir, that these assertions will gain no credit with the present generation, or with posterity. They will demand the facts which had induced a people, by no means deficient in intelligence, so soon to abandon the principles for which they had so gallantly fought, and tamely surrender that liberty which had been obtained at the expense of so much blood. And what facts can be produced? It cannot be said that life and property were not as well protected under the republican government as they have ever been; nor that there existed any opposition to the constitution and laws, too strong for the ordinary powers of the government to put down.

If the insurrection of general Paez, in Venezuela, is adduced, I would ask, by what means was he reduced to obedience? Your excellency, the legitimate head of the republic, appeared, and, in a moment, all opposition ceased, and Venezuela was restored to the republic. But it is said that this was effected by your personal influence, or the dread of your military talents; and that, to keep general Paez, and other ambitious chiefs, from dismembering the republic, it was necessary to invest your excellency with the extraordinary powers you possess. There would be some reason in this, if you had refused to act without these powers; or, having acted as you did, you had been unable to accomplish any thing without them. But you succeeded completely, and there can be no possible reason assigned why you would not have succeeded, with the same means, against any future attempt of general Paez, or any other general.

There appears, however, to be one sentiment in which all parties unite; that is, that, as matters now stand, you alone can save the country from ruin, at least, from much calamity. They differ, however, very widely, as to the measures to be taken to put your excellency in the way to render this important service. The lesser, and more interested party, is for placing the government in your hands for life; either with your present title, or with one which, it must be confessed, better accords with the nature of the powers to be exercised. If they adopt the less offensive title, and if they weave into their system some apparent checks to your will, it is only for the purpose of masking, in some degree, their real object, which is nothing short of the establishment of a despotism. The plea of necessity, that eternal argument of all conspirators, ancient or modern, against the rights of mankind, will be resorted to, to induce you to accede to their measures; and the unsettled state of the country, which has been designedly produced by them, will be adduced as evidence of that necessity.

There is but one way for your excellency to escape from the snares which have been so artfully laid to entrap you, and that is, to stop short in the course which, unfortunately, has been already commenced. Every step you advance, under the influence of such counsels, will make retreat more difficult, until it will become impracticable. You will be told that the intention is only to vest you with authority to

General Harrison pardoning the Assassin.—Page 91.

correct what is wrong in the administration, and to put down the factions, and that, when the country once enjoys tranquillity, the government may be restored to the people. Delusive will be the hopes of those who rely upon this declaration. The promised hour of tranquillity will never arrive. If events tended to produce it, they would be counteracted by the government itself. It was the strong remark of a former president of the United States, that, 'Sooner will the lover be contented with the first smiles of his mistress, than a government cease to endeavour to preserve and extend its powers.' With whatever reluctance your excellency may commence the career; with whatever disposition to abandon it, when the objects for which it was commenced have been obtained; when once fairly entered, you will be borne along by the irresistible force of pride, habit of command, and, indeed, of self-preservation, and it will be impossible to recede.

But it is said that it is for the benefit of the people that the proposed change is to be made; and that by your talents and influence alone, aided by unlimited power, the ambitious chiefs in the different departments are to be restrained, and the integrity of the republic preserved. I have said, and I most sincerely believe, that, from the state into which the country has been brought, that you alone can preserve it from the horrors of anarchy. But I cannot conceive that any extraordinary powers are necessary. The authority to see that the laws are executed; to call out the strength of the country to enforce their execution, is all that is required, and is what is possessed by the chief magistrate of the United States, and of every other republic; and is what was confided to the executive, by the constitution of Cucuta. Would your talents or your energies be impaired in the council, or the field, or your influence lessened, when acting as the head of a republic?

I propose to examine, very briefly, the results which are likely to flow from the proposed change of government: First, in relation to the country; and, secondly, to yourself, personally. Is the tranquillity of the country to be secured by it? Is it possible for your excellency to believe, that when the mask has been thrown off, and the people discover that a despotic government has been fixed upon them, that they will quietly submit to it? Will they forget the pass-word, which, like the cross of fire, was the signal for rallying to oppose their former tyrants? Will the virgins, at your bidding, cease to chant the songs of liberty which so lately animated the youth to victory? Was the patriotic blood of Colombia all expended in the fields of Vargas, Bayaca, and Carebobo? The schools may cease to enforce upon their pupils the love of country, drawn from the examples of Cato and the Bruti, Harmodius and Aristogiton; but the glorious example of patriotic devotion, exhibited in your own Hacienda, will supply their place. Depend on it, sir, that the moment which shall announce the continuance of arbitrary power in your hands, will be the commencement of commotions which will require all your talents and energies to suppress. You may succeed. The disciplined army, at your disposal, may be too powerful for an unarmed, undisciplined, and scattered population; but one unsuccessful effort will not content them, and your feelings will be eternally racked by being obliged to make war upon those who have been accustomed to call you their father, and to invoke blessings on your head, and for no cause but their adherence to principles which you yourself had taught them to regard more than their lives.

If, by the strong government which the advocates for the proposed change so strenuously recommend, one without responsibility is intended, which may put men to death, and immure them in dungeons, without trial, and one where the army is every thing, and the people nothing, I must say, that, if the tranquillity of Colombia is to be preserved in this way, the wildest anarchy would be preferable. Out of that anarchy a better government might arise; but the chains of military despotism once fastened upon a nation, ages might pass away before they could be shaken off.

But I contend that the strongest of all governments is that which is most free. We consider that of the United States as the strongest, precisely because it is the most free. It possesses the faculties equally to protect itself from foreign force or internal convulsion. In both it has been sufficiently tried. In no country upon earth would an armed opposition to the laws be sooner or more effectually put down. Not so much by the terrors of the guillotine and the gibbet, as from the aroused determination of the nation, exhibiting their strength, and convincing the factious that their cause was hopeless. No, sir, depend upon it, that the possession of arbitrary power, by

the government of Colombia, will not be the means of securing its tranquillity; nor will the danger of disturbances solely arise from the opposition of the people. The power, and the military force which it will be necessary to put in the hands of the governors of the distant provinces, added to the nature of the country, will continually present to those officers the temptation and the means of revolt.

Will the proposed change restore prosperity to the country? With the best intentions to do so, will you be able to recall commerce to its shores and give new life to the drooping state of agriculture? The cause of the constant decline, in these great interests, cannot be mistaken. It arises from the fewness of those who labor, and the number of those who are to be supported by that labor. To support a swarm of luxurious and idle monks, and an army greatly disproportioned to the resources of the country, with a body of officers in a tenfold degree disproportioned to the army, every branch of industry is oppressed with burdens which deprive the ingenious man of the profits of his ingenuity, and the laborer of his reward. To satisfy the constant and pressing demands which are made upon it, the treasury seizes upon every thing within its grasp—destroying the very germ of future prosperity. Is there any prospect that these evils will cease with the proposed change? Can the army be dispensed with? Will the influence of the monks be no longer necessary? Believe me, sir, that the support which the government derives from both these sources will be more than ever requisite.

But the most important inquiry is, the effect which this strong government is to have upon the people themselves. Will it tend to improve and elevate their character, and fit them for the freedom which it is pretended is ultimately to be bestowed upon them? The question has been answered from the age of Homer. Man does not learn under oppression those noble qualities and feelings which fit him for the enjoyment of liberty. Nor is despotism the proper school in which to acquire the knowledge of the principles of republican government. A government whose revenues are derived from diverting the very sources of wealth from its subjects, will not find the means of improving the morals and enlightening the minds of the youth, by supporting systems of liberal education; and, if it could, it would not.

In relation to the effect which this investment of power is to have upon your happiness and your fame, will the pomp and glitter of a court, and the flattery of venal courtiers, reward you for the troubles and anxieties attendant upon the exercise of sovereignty, everywhere, and those which will flow from your peculiar situation? Or power, supported by the bayonet, for that willing homage which you were wont to receive from your fellow-citizens? The groans of a dissatisfied and oppressed people will penetrate the inmost recesses of your palace, and you will be tortured by the reflection, that you no longer possess that place in their affections, which was once your pride and your boast, and which would have been your solace under every reverse of fortune. Unsupported by the people, your authority can be maintained only by the terrors of the sword and the scaffold. And have these ever been successful under similar circumstances? Blood may smother, for a period, but can never extinguish the fire of liberty, which you have contributed so much to kindle, in the bosom of every Colombian.

I will not urge, as an argument, the personal dangers to which you will be exposed. But I will ask if you could enjoy life, which would be preserved by the constant execution of so many human beings—your countrymen, your former friends, and almost your worshippers. The pangs of such a situation will be made more acute, by reflecting on the hallowed motive of many of those who would aim their daggers at your bosom. That, like the last of the Romans, they would strike, not from hatred to the man, but love to the country.

From a knowledge of your own disposition, and present feelings, your excellency will not be willing to believe that you could ever be brought to commit an act of tyranny, or even to execute justice with unnecessary rigor. But trust me, sir, that there is nothing more corrupting, nothing more destructive of the noblest and finest feelings of our nature, than the exercise of unlimited power. The man who, in the beginning of such a career, might shudder at the idea of taking away the life of a fellow being, might soon have his conscience so seared by the repetition of crime, that the agonies of his murdered victims might become music to his soul, and the

drippings of his scaffold afford 'blood enough to swim in.' History is full of such examples.

From this disgusting picture, permit me to call the attention of your excellency to one of a different character. It exhibits you as the constitutional chief magistrate of a free people, giving to their representatives the influence of your great name and talents, to reform the abuses which, in a long reign of tyranny and misrule, have fastened upon every branch of the administration. The army, and its swarm of officers reduced within the limits of real usefulness, placed on the frontiers, and no longer permitted to control public opinion, and be the terror of the peaceful citizen. By the removal of this incubus from the treasury, and the establishment of order, responsibility, and economy, in the expenditures of the government, it would soon be enabled to dispense with the odious monopolies, and the duty of the *alcavala*, which have operated with so malign an effect upon commerce, and agriculture, and, indeed, upon the revenues which they were intended to augment. No longer oppressed by these shackles, industry would everywhere revive: the farmer and the artisan, cheered by the prospect of ample reward for their labor, would redouble their exertions; foreigners, with their capital and skill in the arts, would crowd hither, to enjoy the advantages which could scarcely, elsewhere, be found: and Colombia would soon exhibit the reality of the beautiful fiction of Fenelon—Salentum rising from misery and oppression, to prosperity and happiness, under the counsels and direction of the concealed goddess.

What objections can be urged against this course? Can any one acquainted with these circumstances of the country, doubt its success, in restoring and maintaining tranquillity? The people would certainly not revolt against themselves; and none of the chiefs who are supposed to be factiously inclined, would think of opposing the strength of the nation, when directed by your talents and authority. But it is said, that the want of intelligence amongst the people unfits them for the government. Is it not right, however, that the experiment should be fairly tried? I have already said that this has not been done. For myself, I do not hesitate to declare my firm belief, that it will succeed. The people of Colombia possess many traits of character suitable for a republican government. A more orderly, forbearing, and well-disposed people are nowhere to be met with. Indeed, it may safely be asserted, that their faults and vices are attributable to the cursed government to which they have been so long subjected, and to the intolerant character of the religion, whilst their virtues are all their own. But, admitting their present want of intelligence, no one has ever doubted their capacity to acquire knowledge, and under the strong motives which exist, to obtain it, supported by the influence of your excellency, it would soon be obtained.

To yourself, the advantage would be as great as to the country; like acts of mercy, the blessings would be reciprocal; your personal happiness secured, and your fame elevated to a height which would leave but a single competition in the estimation of posterity. In bestowing the palm of merit, the world has become wiser than formerly. The successful warrior is no longer regarded as entitled to the first place in the temple of fame. Talents of this kind have become too common, and too often used for mischievous purposes, to be regarded as they once were. In this enlightened age, the mere hero of the field, and the successful leader of armies, may, for the moment, attract attention. But it will be such as is bestowed upon the passing meteor, whose blaze is no longer remembered, when it is no longer seen. To be esteemed eminently great, it is necessary to be eminently good. The qualities of the hero and the general must be devoted to the advantage of mankind, before he will be permitted to assume the title of their benefactor; and the station which he will hold in their regard and affections will depend, not upon the number and the splendor of his victories, but upon the results and the use he may make of the influence he acquires from them.

If the fame of our Washington depended upon his military achievements, would the common consent of the world allow him the pre-eminence he possesses? The victories at Trenton, Monmouth, and York, brilliant as they were, exhibiting, as they certainly did, the highest grade of military talents, are scarcely thought of. The source of the veneration and esteem which is entertained for his character, by every description of politicians—the monarchist and aristocrat, as well as the republican, is to be found in his undeviating and exclusive devotedness to the interest of his country.

No selfish consideration was ever suffered to intrude itself into his mind. For his country he conquered; and the unrivalled and increasing prosperity of that country is constantly adding fresh glory to his name. General, the course which he pursued is open to you, and it depends upon yourself to attain the eminence which he has reached before you.

To the eyes of military men, the laurels you won on the fields of Vargas, Bayaca and Carebobo, will be forever green; but will that content you? Are you willing that your name should descend to posterity, amongst the mass of those whose fame has been derived from shedding human blood, without a single advantage to the human race! Or, shall it be united to that of Washington, as the founder and the father of a great and happy people? The choice is before you. The friends of liberty throughout the world, and the people of the United States in particular, are waiting your decision with intense anxiety. Alexander toiled and conquered to attain the applause of the Athenians; will you regard as nothing the opinions of a nation which has evinced its superiority over that celebrated people, in the science most useful to man, by having carried into actual practice a system of government, of which the wisest Athenians had but a glimpse in theory, and considered as a blessing never to be realized, however ardently to be desired? The place which you are to occupy in their esteem depends upon yourself. Farewell.

W. H. Harrison."

General Harrison arrived at New York on the 16th of February, 1830, and proceeded to his farm at "North Bend." A short time after his return, he partook of a public dinner tendered to him by the citizens of Cincinnati as a mark of their high respect for his private virtues and distinguished public services.

"In June, 1831,* he was chosen to deliver the annual discourse before the Hamilton county Agricultural Society. In this address, he gave evidence of being a sound practical farmer, combining theory and practice, in regard to crops and herds, with the same ready success, that in other days he had applied military principles to the movement of armies. A single extract from this valuable discourse is all that our limits will permit:

'The encouragement of agriculture, gentlemen, would be praiseworthy in any country: in our own it is peculiarly so. Not only to multiply the means and enjoyment of life, but as giving greater stability and security to our political institutions. In all ages and in all countries, it has been observed that the cultivators of the soil are those who are least willing to part with their rights, and submit themselves to the will of a master. I have no doubt also, that a taste for agricultural pursuits, is the best means of disciplining the ambition of those daring spirits, who occasionally spring up in the world, for good or for evil, to defend or to destroy the liberties of their fellow-men, as the principles received from education or circumstances may tend. As long as the leaders of the Roman armies were taken from the plough, to the plough they were willing to return. Never, in the character of general, forgetting the duties of the citizen, and ever ready to exchange the sword and the triumphal purple, for the homely vestments of the husbandman.

The history of this far-famed republic is full of instances of this kind; but none more remarkable than our own age and country have produced. The fascinations of power and the trappings of command were as much despised, and the enjoyment of rural scenes, and rural employments as highly prized by our Washington, as by Cincinnatus or Regulus. At the close of his glorious military career, he says, 'I am preparing to return to that domestic retirement which it is well known I left with the deepest regret, and for which I have not ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence.'

Your efforts, gentlemen, to diffuse a taste for agriculture amongst men of all descriptions and professions, may produce results more important even than increasing the means of subsistence, and the enjoyment of life. It may cause some future conqueror for his country, to end his career

'Guiltless of his country's blood.'

* * * * * * *

* Sketches, &c.

To the heart-cheering prospect of flocks and herds feeding on unrivalled pastures, fields of grain, exhibiting the scriptural proof that the seed had been cast on good ground—how often is the eye of the philanthropic traveller disgusted with the dark, unsightly manufactories of a certain poison—poison to the body and the soul. A modern Æneas or Ulysses might mistake them for entrances into the Infernal Regions; nor would they greatly err. But unlike those passages which conducted the Grecian and Trojan heroes on their pious errands, the scenes to which these conduct the unhappy wretch who shall enter are those, exclusively, of misery and woe. No relief to the sad picture; no Tartarus *there*, no Elysium *here*. It is all Tartarian darkness, and, not unfrequently, Tartarian crime. I speak more freely of the practice of converting the material of the 'staff of life' (and by which so many human beings yearly perish) into an article which is so destructive of health and happiness, because in that way I have sinned myself; *but in that way I shall sin no more.*'*

In 1831, pending an application in congress for the settlement of the accounts of J. Symmes Harrison, late receiver of public moneys at Vincennes, colonel Richard M. Johnson, now vice-president of the United States, in alluding to the father of the late receiver, spontaneously bore the following well merited tribute to his old commander:

'Who is general Harrison? The son of one of the signers of the declaration of independence, who spent the greater part of his large fortune in redeeming the pledge he then gave, of his 'fortune, life and sacred honor,' to secure the liberties of his country.

Of the career of general Harrison I need not speak—the history of the west is his history. For forty years he has been identified with its interests, its perils, and its hopes. Universally beloved in the walks of peace, and distinguished by his ability in the councils of his country, he has been yet more illustriously distinguished in the field.

During the late war, he was longer in active service than any other general officer; he was, perhaps, oftener in action than any one of them, and never sustained a defeat.'

In 1833, general Harrison delivered, by appointment, at Cheviot, Hamilton county, Ohio, an address in commemoration of the 4th of July, which was subsequently published by the committee of arrangements. It presents a summary of the causes which led to the revolutionary war, and a lucid exposition of the constitution of the United States. His interpretation of that instrument is in strict accordance with the celebrated resolutions of Virginia and Kentucky, of 1798.

Being desirous of making a fair representation of the views of general Harrison, on all important public matters, we now introduce two documents touching his opinion on the subject of slavery. In the year 1822, when he was a candidate for congress, his opponents, for the purpose of defeating his election, charged him with being a pro-slavery man—that he had owned slaves, and had been in favor of introducing slavery into Indiana. In refutation of this sweeping charge, general Harrison published an address, from which we take all of that portion relating to the subject of slavery. It is in these words:

'Being called suddenly home to attend my sick family, I have but a moment to answer a few of the calumnies which are in circulation concerning me.

I am accused of being friendly to slavery. From my earliest youth to the present moment, I have been the *ardent friend of Human Liberty.* At the age of eighteen, *I became a member of an Abolition Society* established at Richmond, Virginia; the object of which was to ameliorate the condition of slaves and *procure their freedom by every legal means.* My venerable friend, judge Gatch, of Clermont county, was also a member of this society, and has lately given me a certificate that I was one. *The obligations which I then came under I have faithfully performed.* I have been

* "Some years since, general Harrison established a distillery on his farm, to convert his surplus corn into whisky. Soon perceiving the bad consequences of such a manufactory, upon the surrounding population, he cheerfully encountered pecuniary sacrifice by abolishing his manufactory of that baneful article."

the means of liberating many slaves, *but never placed one in bondage.* I deny that my vote in congress in relation to Missouri and Arkansas, are in the least incompatible with these principles. Congress had no more legal or constitutional right to emancipate the negroes in those sections of Louisiana without the consent of their owners, than they have to free those of Kentucky. These people were secured in their property by a solemn covenant with France when the country was purchased from that power. To prohibit the emigration of citizens of the southern states to the part of the country, the situation and climate of which was peculiarly suited to them, would have been highly unjust, as it had been purchased out of the common fund. Particularly, too, when it is recollected that all the immense territory to the north-west of the Ohio had been ceded by Virginia, and with an unexampled liberality, she had herself proposed, that by excluding slavery from it, to secure it for the emigration of those states which had no slaves. Was it proper, then, when her reserved territory was in a great measure filled up, to exclude her citizens from every part of the territory purchased out of the common fund? *I was the first person to introduce into congress the proposition that all the country above Missouri* (which having no inhabitants was free from the objection made to Missouri and Arkansas) *should never have slavery admitted into it.* I repeat what I have before said, that as our union was only effected by mutual concession, so only can it be preserved.

My vote against the restriction of Missouri in forming her constitution was not a conclusive one; there would have been time enough, had I continued to be a member, before the question was decided, for my constituents to have instructed me, and I should have rejoiced in an opportunity of sacrificing my seat to my principles, if they had instructed me in opposition to my construction of the constitution. Like many other members from the non-slaveholding states, of whom I mention Shaw, Holmes, Mason of Massachusetts, Lamar of Connecticut, and Baldwin of Pennsylvania, I could see nothing in the constitution which I had sworn to support, to warrant such an interference with the rights of the states, and which had never before been attempted. And where is the crime in one set of men not being able to interpret the constitution as other men interpret it? As we had all *sworn* to support it, the crime would have been in giving it a construction which our consciences would not sanction. And let me ask, for what good is this question again brought up? It has been settled, as all our family differences have been settled, on the firm basis of mutual compromise. And patriotism, as well as prudence, devoted the effects of that *awful discussion* to eternal oblivion. Is it not known, that from that cause the great fabric of our Union was shaken to its foundation? Is it not known that Missouri would not have submitted to the restriction, and that the other slave-holding states had determined to support her? But for this compromise, the probability is, that at this moment we might look upon the opposite shore of Ohio, not for an affectionate sister state, but on an armed and implacable rival. What patriotic man would not join the gallant *Eaton* in execrating the *head and the hand* that could devise and execute a scheme productive of a calamity so awful?

Upon the whole, fellow-citizens, our path is a plain one; it is that marked out as well by humanity as duty. We cannot emancipate the slaves of the other states without their consent, but by producing a convulsion which would undo us all. For this much to be desired event, we must wait the slow but certain progress of those good principles which are everywhere gaining ground, and which assuredly will ultimately prevail.'

It is proper to remark, that this society, originally established by the Quakers, but not confined to them, was, according to the statement of judge Gatch, a 'Humane Society;' and it seems to have been of a character to which no exceptions were taken in Virginia. A number of the citizens of Richmond were members, and its principles were not understood to be at all in conflict with the rights guarantied to the owners of slaves, by the constitution and the laws of the land. Within a few months after his first connexion with this society, general Harrison, then but eighteen years of age, removed from Virginia, since which time he has never attended one of its meetings, nor been either directly or indirectly connected with any society touching the question of slavery.

The other document upon this subject, is taken from a speech made by general

Harrison, at Vincennes, Indiana, in May, 1835, on the occasion of a public dinner having been given to him by the citizens of that place.

'I have now, fellow-citizens, a few more words to say on another subject, and which is, in my opinion, of more importance than any other that is now in the course of discussion in any part of the Union. I allude to the societies which have been formed, and the movements of certain individuals in some of the states in relation to a portion of the population in others. The conduct of these persons is the more dangerous, because their object is masked under the garb of disinterestedness and benevolence; and their course vindicated by arguments and propositions which, in the abstract, no one can deny. But however fascinating may be the dress with which their schemes are presented to their fellow-citizens, with whatever purity of intention they may have been formed and sustained, they will be found to carry in their train mischief to the whole Union, and horrors to a large portion of it, which, it is probable, some of the projectors and many of their supporters have never thought of; the latter, the first in the series of evils which are to spring from their source, are such as you have seen perpetrated on the fair plains of Italy and Gaul, by the Scythian hordes of Attila and Alaric; and such as most of you apprehended upon that memorable night, when the tomahawks and war clubs of the followers of Tecumseh were rattling in your suburbs. I regard not the disavowals of any such intention upon the part of the authors of these schemes, since, upon the examination of the publications which have been made, they will be found to contain the very facts, and very arguments which they would have used, if such had been their object. I am certain that there is not, in this assembly, one of these deluded men, and that there are few within the bounds of the state. If there are any, I would earnestly entreat them to forbear, to pause in their career, and deliberately consider the consequence of their conduct to the whole Union, to the states more immediately interested, and to those for whose benefit they profess to act. That the latter will be the victims of the weak, injudicious, presumptuous, and unconstitutional efforts to serve them, a thorough examination of the subject must convince them. The struggle (and struggle there must be) may commence with horrors such as I have described, but it will end with more firmly riveting the chains, or in the utter extirpation of those whose cause they advocate.

Am I wrong, fellow-citizens, in applying the terms weak, presumptuous, and unconstitutional, to the measures of the emancipators? A slight examination will, I think, show that I am not. In a vindication of the objects of a convention which was lately held in one of the towns of Ohio, which I saw in a newspaper, it was said that nothing more was intended than to produce a state of public feeling which would lead to an amendment of the constitution, authorizing the abolition of slavery in the United States. Now can an amendment of the constitution be effected without the consent of the southern states? What then is the proposition to be submitted to them? It is this:—'The present provisions of the constitution secure to you the right, (a right which you held before it was made, which you have never given up,) to manage your domestic concerns in your own way; but as we are convinced that you do not manage them properly, we want you to put in the hands of the general government, in the councils of which we have the majority, the control over these matters, the effect of which will be virtually to transfer the power from yours into our hands.' Again, in some of the states, and in sections of others, the black population far exceeds that of the white. Some of the emancipators propose immediate abolition. What is the proposition then, as it regards the states and parts of states, but the alternatives of amalgamation with the blacks, or an exchange of situations with them? Is there any man of common sense who does not believe that the emancipated blacks, being a majority, will not insist upon a full participation of political rights with the whites; and when possessed of these, they will not contend for a full share of social rights also? What but the extremity of weakness and folly could induce any one to think, that such propositions as these could be listened to by a people so intelligent as the southern states? Further, the emancipators generally declare that it is their intention to effect their object (although their acts contradict their assertion) by no other means than by convincing the slave-holders that the emancipation of the slaves is called for, both by moral obligation and sound policy. An unfledged youth, at the moment of his leaving (indeed, in many instances, before he has left it) his

theological seminary, undertakes to give lectures upon morals to the countrymen of Wythe, Tucker, Pendleton, and Lowndes, and lessons of political wisdom to states, whose affairs have so recently been directed by Jefferson and Madison, Macon and Crawford. Is it possible, that instances of greater vanity and presumption could be exhibited? But the course pursued by the emancipators is unconstitutional. I do not say that there are any words in the constitution which forbid the discussions they are engaged in; I know that there are not. And citizens have the right to express and publish their opinions without restriction. But in the construction of the constitution, it is always necessary to refer to the circumstances under which it was framed, and to ascertain its meaning by a comparison of its provisions with each other, and with the previous situation of the several states who were parties to it. In a portion of these, slavery was recognised, and they took care to have the right secured to them; to follow and reclaim such of them as were fugitives to other states. The laws of congress passed under this power, have provided punishment for any one who shall oppose or interrupt the exercise of this right. Now can any one believe, that the instrument which contains a provision of this kind, which authorizes a master to pursue his slave into another state, take him back, and provides a punishment for any citizen or citizens of that state who should oppose him, should, at the same time, authorize the latter to assemble together, to pass resolutions and adopt addresses, not only to encourage the slaves to leave their masters, but to cut their throats before they do so?

I insist, that if the citizens of the non-slaveholding states can avail themselves of the article of the constitution, which prohibits the restriction of speech or the press to publish any thing injurious to the rights of the slaveholding states, that they can go to the extreme that I have mentioned, and effect any thing further which writing or speaking could effect. But, fellow-citizens, these are not the principles of the constitution. Such a construction would defeat one of the great objects of its formation, which was that of securing the peace and harmony of the states which were parties to it. The liberty of speech and of the press, were given as the most effectual means to preserve to each and every citizen their own rights, and to the states the rights which appertained to them, at the time of their adoption. It could never have been expected that it would be used by the citizens of one portion of the states for the purpose of depriving those of another portion, of the rights which they had reserved at the adoption of the constitution, and in the exercise of which, none but themselves have any concern or interest. If slavery is an evil, the evil is with them. If there is guilt in it, the guilt is theirs, not ours, since neither the states where it does not exist, nor the government of the United States can, without usurpation of power, and the violation of a solemn compact, do any thing to remove it without the consent of those who are immediately interested. But they will neither ask for aid nor consent to be aided, whilst the illegal, persecuting, and dangerous movements are in progress, of which I complain: the interest of all concerned requires that these should be stopped immediately. This can only be done by the force of public opinion, and that cannot too soon be brought into operation. Every movement which is made by the abolitionists in the non-slaveholding states, is viewed by our southern brethren as an attack upon their rights, and which, if persisted in, must in the end eradicate those feelings of attachment and affection between the citizens of all the states, which was produced by a community of interests and dangers in the war of the revolution, which was the foundation of our happy union, and by a continuance of which, it can alone be preserved. I entreat you, then, to frown upon the measures which are to produce results so much to be deprecated. The opinions which I have now given, I have omitted no opportunity for the last two years to lay before the people of my own state. I have taken the liberty to express them here, knowing that even if they should unfortunately not accord with yours, they would be kindly received.'

The attempt has been made to show that these two documents are inconsistent with each other. A careful comparison of them, however, must bring the candid inquirer for truth, to a different conclusion. On this, as well as upon all other questions upon which general Harrison has been called to act or express himself, there is an exhibition of the same consistency of opinion and character which has marked the whole of his eventful life."

To the above we append the following:

From the Charleston (S. C.) Courier.

General Harrison.—We give below further evidence of general Harrison's soundness on the subject of abolition. No further confirmation is needed by us, since our knowledge of his Vincennes speech, and his recent renewed avowal of it, in an extract of a letter from him, published in our paper; but it is right, slandered as he has been and still is on this subject, that the public should be put in possession of all proofs bearing upon it. We therefore not only publish the subjoined letter, but call upon the honourable John M. Berrien, of Georgia, to make public the letter in his possession, referred to by general Harrison, as containing a more full exposition of his sentiments and views.

From the New Orleans Bee.

General Harrison—Abolition.—The opinions of general Harrison, in respect to the rights of the south, and the powers of congress to interfere with the institutions of slavery, have been so repeatedly expressed, and in so many ways, by his votes in congress, his public speeches and private correspondence, that the following letters were hardly needed to satisfy the skeptical of his entire soundness upon that absorbing topic. The evidences heretofore laid before the public, were sufficient to convince any one open to human testimony, that the slave states had not a faster friend than William Henry Harrison, or one who would more rigidly guard the rights secured to them by our sacred Constitution. Lest there should be any lingering doubt in the public mind, we lay before our readers the following document, which will set all cavil at rest, except with those who would not believe, "though one should rise from the dead."

The following letter was written by general Harrison to a gentleman well known to the people of this city. It was first published in the True American on Wednesday last.

"*Cincinnati, 25th November*, 1836.

My dear sir—I answer the questions you proposed to me this morning, with great pleasure.

First: I do not believe that congress can abolish slavery in the states, or *in any manner interfere with the property of the citizens in their slaves*, but upon the application of the states, in which case, and in no other, they might appropriate money to aid the states so applying to get rid of their slaves. These opinions I have always held, and this was the ground upon which I voted against the Missouri restriction in the fifteenth congress. The opinions given above are precisely those which were entertained by Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison.

Second: I do not believe that congress can abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, without the consent of Virginia and Maryland, and the people of the District.

I received a letter some time since, from John M. Berrien, esq., of Georgia, proposing questions, similar to those made by you, and I answered them more at length than I have now done, but to the same import.

In haste, yours truly,

W. H. Harrison.

To Thomas Sloo, jr., of New Orleans, now in Cincinnati."

These were the sentiments of general Harrison less than four years ago. They conform to the views he has always expressed upon this question; and, what is more to the purpose, they conform *to every act of his life*, when called upon, either in his capacity of legislator to vote, or, as a citizen of influence and weight of character, to address the people upon the subject.

General Harrison's opinions have undergone no change since the date of the above letter. His whole course concerning our domestic institutions has been decided, firm, and without change.

From the Charleston (S. C.) Courier.

General Harrison and Abolition.—We give place, with pleasure, to the following letter, from a distinguished Georgian, in answer to our recent call on him, adding another to the already multiplied proofs of general Harrison's soundness on the slave question.

"*Savannah, April* 11, 1840.

Gentlemen—You call upon me, in your paper of the 8th inst., to make public a

letter, addressed to me by general Harrison, on the subject of abolition. I have already replied to a similar request, made by the editor of the Daily Telegraph, a paper published in this city: but as I know not if that paper (which has been recently established) is on your list of exchanges, and feel that the liberality of your conduct, towards a political opponent, gives you an undoubted claim to the respect and courtesy of his friends. I repeat the substance of that answer.

The letter in question was written in 1836, in anticipation of a state of things which did not occur. It was, therefore, not made public, and I fear has not been preserved. At least, after a diligent search among my papers, I have been unable to find it. Its contents, however, are perfectly within my recollection, and I do all that is in my power to comply with your request, by stating them, as I have done to the editor of the Telegraph. The letter embraced three points.

First: General Harrison denied the right of congress to abolish slavery in the states, or in the District of Columbia.

Second: He expressed the opinion that the tariff compromise ought to remain undisturbed.

Third: He repudiated the practice of making appointments to office the reward of partisan service.

This was the purport of the letter. I did not ask general Harrison's opinion, because I doubted it. Having been in intimate intercourse with him for several years, I knew that his views on this subject were in accordance with my own.

I am, very respectfully, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

J. Macpherson Berrien."

"In 1835,* at the celebration of the forty-seventh anniversary of the settlement of Ohio, held in Cincinnati, general Harrison was among the invited guests; and in reply to some complimentary toast, offered by the committee of arrangement, referring to general Wayne and himself, general Harrison took occasion to speak of the claims of the subordinate officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the regular army in the west, under Harmer, St. Clair, and Wayne, who brought the war of the revolution to a close, by the victory of the Miami of the Lake. In this address, the claims of these soldiers were presented in a strong, touching, and beautiful manner. From the many admirable sentiments contained in this speech, we cannot forbear quoting the following: 'No more fatal idea can be entertained, than that our republic is to be preserved either by the wealth of our citizens or the amount of the revenue of the government. The brightest eras of the republics which have existed, were those when honorable poverty prevailed, and when patriotism was best rewarded.'

In the autumn of 1837, general Harrison delivered a discourse before the Philosophical and Historical Society of Ohio, on the aborigines of the Ohio, which has since been published in the first volume of the Transactions of that body. It embraces about fifty pages of the work, and is among the most valuable contributions which have yet been made to that society. This discourse, written with classic elegance, in pure Saxon, is ingenious and profound, presenting the results of much close and accurate observation upon the ancient works and aborigines of the valley of the Ohio. Having space but for a single extract, we take the following, on the reproduction of the forest upon the banks of the Ohio, after it has once been destroyed. The subject is introduced by the author to prove the great antiquity of the ancient mounds and fortifications of this region.

'The process by which nature restores the forest to its original state, after being once cleared, is extremely slow. In our rich lands, it is, indeed, soon covered again with timber, but the character of the growth is entirely different, and continues so, through many generations of men. In several places on the Ohio, particularly upon the farm which I occupy, clearings were made in the first settlement, abandoned, and suffered to grow up. Some of them, now to be seen, of nearly fifty years' growth, have made so little progress towards attaining the appearance of the immediately contiguous forest, as to induce any man of reflection, to determine, that at least ten times fifty years would be necessary before its complete assimilation could be effected. The sites of the ancient works on the Ohio, present precisely the same appearance as the cir-

* Sketches, &c.

cumjacent forest. You find on them, all that beautiful variety of trees, which gives such unrivalled richness to our forests. This is particularly the case on the fifteen acres included within the walls of the work at the mouth of the Great Miami, and the relative proportions of the different kinds of timber, are about the same. The first growth on the same kind of land, once cleared, and then abandoned to nature, on the contrary, is more homogeneous—often stinted to one, or two, or at most three kinds of timber. If the ground had been cultivated, yellow locust, in many places, will spring up as thick as garden peas. If it has not been cultivated, the black and white walnut will be the prevailing growth. The rapidity with which these trees grow for a time, smothers the attempt of other kinds to vegetate and grow in their shade. The more thrifty individuals soon overtop the weaker of their own kind, which sicken and die. In this way, there is soon only as many left as the earth will well support to maturity. All this time the squirrels may plant the seed of those trees which serve them for food, and by neglect suffer them to remain,—it will be in vain; the birds may drop the kernels, the external pulp of which have contributed to their nourishment, and divested of which they are in the best state for germinating, still it will be of no avail: the winds of heaven may waft the winged seeds of the sycamore, cotton-wood and maple, and a friendly shower may bury them to the necessary depth in the loose and fertile soil—but still without success. The roots below rob them of moisture, and the canopy of limbs and leaves above intercept the rays of the sun, and the dews of heaven: the young giants in possession, like another kind of aristocracy, absorb the whole means of subsistence, and leave the mass to perish at their feet. This state of things will not, however, always continue. If the process of nature is slow and circuitous, in putting down usurpation and establishing the equality which she loves, and which is the great characteristic of her principles, it is sure and effectual. The preference of the soil for the first growth, ceases with its maturity. It admits of no succession, upon the principles of legitimacy. The long undisputed masters of the forest may be thinned by the lightning, the tempest, or by diseases peculiar to themselves; and whenever this is the case, one of the oft-rejected of another family, will find between its decaying roots, shelter, and appropriate food; and, springing into vigorous growth, will soon push its green foliage to the skies, through the decayed and withering limbs of its blasted and dying adversary—the soil itself, yielding it a more liberal support than any scion from the former occupant. It will easily be conceived what a length of time it will require for a denuded tract of land, by a process so slow, again to clothe itself with the amazing variety of foliage which is the characteristic of the forests of this region. Of what immense age, then, must be those works, so often referred to, covered, as has been supposed by those who have the best opportunity of examining them, with the second growth *after the ancient forest state had been regained?*'"

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL HARRISON NOMINATED AS A CANDIDATE TO THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—LETTER TO THE OFFICERS OF THE MARYLAND CONVENTION—LETTER TO SHERROD WILLIAMS—LETTER TO JOHN H. PLEASANTS RELATIVE TO SELLING WHITE MEN—LETTER RESPECTING THE CHARGE THAT HE HAD BURNT A MORAVIAN TOWN IN CANADA—NOMINATED BY THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ANTI-MASONIC CONVENTION—LETTER TO HARMER DENNY —NOMINATED BY THE NATIONAL CONVENTION AT HARRISBURG—HIS LETTER ACCEPTING THE NOMINATION, &c.

In the spring of 1836, general Harrison was spontaneously nominated as a candidate for the presidency of the United States by the people, and the nomination was confirmed by the state conventions opposed to the election of Mr. Van Buren. From his replies to the officers of the different conventions, directed to inform him of his nomination, we select the following to the officers of the Maryland convention, recorded in Niles, vol. l. p. 128, which is characterized by that modest, yet manly, spirit which marks his communications.

"*North Bend, 9th February*, 1836.

Gentlemen—Your letter, covering the proceedings of the convention by which I was nominated their candidate for the presidency of the United States was received in the due course of the mail, and the resolutions they contained, are such as to create in my bosom feelings of gratitude towards the people of Maryland, which will be cherished to the last moment of my existence. These feelings were greatly increased from the reflection that, with a very few exceptions, I was personally unknown to the members of the convention, and, exclusively of some of her statesmen, with whom I have served in the national councils, but to a few others of her citizens. With thousands of those of some other states I have been associated in scenes, where the difficulties and dangers, to which we were in common exposed, have created a feeling of attachment and partiality, which is often found to warp the judgments of good men, and induce them to bestow their confidence and suffrages on those possessing inferior qualifications. Having no advantages of this kind to boast of in relation to my fellow-citizens of Maryland, I am gratified with the reflection, considering the pre-eminent talents of several of those from whom their selections might have been made, that I am indebted for the distinction with which they have honored me, to the greater length of my public services, and the belief that in the discharge of the various and important trusts which have been committed to me, the confidence of my country has never been betrayed nor its interests sacrificed. This is precisely the ground which I wish to occupy. Conscious of many deficiencies and imperfections, I have endeavored to supply the place of the qualities I wanted by unwearied zeal and undeviating fidelity.

How delightful is the reflection that by an assembly so enlightened and free as that of the late Maryland convention, the character in which I so ardently desire to stand before my countrymen should be accorded to me. In relation to the freedom with which the choice was made, gentlemen, I venture to assure you, that should your efforts to place me in the executive chair of this great nation, prove successful, that the influence and patronage of that office shall never be used to control or impair it, in any of your future deliberations. And that if in the year 1839 your own great emporium or any other place, should be the theatre for the exhibition of another national convention, it shall be, as far as my efforts can effect it, what that of 1835 purported to be, 'an assembly fresh from the people, the true representation of their unbiassed wishes, the faithful echo of their opinions.'

This declaration is made with a perfect consciousness of the little confidence which is given to pledges of any kind, made by persons situated as I am. I know that they have been made and violated in every age and in every country, where men have depended for their advancement to the highest offices on the good opinion of their countrymen. But in almost every instance the deceiver has been found possessed of grasping and insatiable ambition, (of which the germs might have been discovered in his previous conduct,) and generally united with commanding genius and splendid talents. There is, I trust, nothing in my previous conduct to show that I possess the former character, and utterly disclaiming the latter, my sole reliance, for preserving the good opinion of my countrymen, is the preservation of that character for fidelity to my engagements, which the convention, which you, gentlemen, represent, as well as others of my fellow-citizens have been pleased to allow to me.

With high consideration, I am, gentlemen, your humble servant,

Wm. H. Harrison.

To Wm. Bradley Tyler, president,
Robert W. Bowie, Henry V. Somerville, Reuben Toll, Henry S. Stites, v. presidents.
Joseph H. Nicholson, John Bozman Kerr, secretaries."

In April, 1836, the hon. Sherrod Williams, a member of congress from Kentucky, addressed the following letter to general Harrison, and his competitors for the office of president. The reply of general Harrison, inserted below, may be found in Niles, vol. li. pp. 23, 24.

"*Washington, April* 7, 1836.

Sir—I consider it the right of every citizen of the United States to ask and demand, and to be fully informed of the political principles and opinions of those who are candidates for the various offices in the gift of the people, and the imperious duty of

the candidate to frankly and fully avow and declare the opinions which he entertains. I, therefore, as a voter, a citizen, and an individual, feeling a deep and abiding interest in the welfare and prosperity of our common country, and an ardent desire to see the perpetuity of our free and happy form of government, take the liberty of asking you to give me your opinion and views on the following subjects:

First: Will you (if elected president of the United States) sign and approve a bill distributing the surplus revenue of the United States, to each state, according to the federal population of each, for internal improvements, education, and to such other objects as the legislatures of the several states may see fit to apply the same?

Second: Will you sign and approve a bill distributing the proceeds of the sales of the public lands to each state, according to the federal population of each, for the purposes above specified?

Third: Will you sign and approve bills making appropriations to improve navigable streams above ports of entry?

Fourth: Will you sign and approve (if it becomes necessary to secure and save from depreciation the revenue and finances of the nation, and to afford a uniform sound currency to the people of the United States) a bill (with proper modifications and restrictions) chartering a bank of the United States?

Fifth: What is your opinion as to the constitutional power of the senate or the house of representatives of the congress of the United States, to expunge or obliterate from the journals the records and proceedings of a previous session?

A frank, plain, and full answer to the foregoing inquiries is respectfully and earnestly solicited. Your answer is desired as soon as possible. I intend this and your answer for publication.

I have the honor to be your humble and obedient servant,

SHERROD WILLIAMS."

"*North Bend, May* 1, 1836.

SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th ultimo, in which you request me to answer the following questions:

First: 'Will you, if elected president of the United States, sign and approve a bill distributing the surplus revenue of the United States, to each state according to the federal population of each, for internal improvement, education, and to such other objects as the legislature of the several states may see fit to apply the same?'

Second: 'Will you sign and approve a bill distributing the proceeds of the sales of the public lands to each state, according to the federal population of each, for the purposes above specified?'

Third: 'Will you sign and approve bills making appropriations to improve navigable streams above ports of entry?'

Fourth: 'Will you sign and approve (if it becomes necessary to secure and save from depreciation the revenue and finances of the nation, and to afford a uniform sound currency to the people of the United States) a bill, with proper modifications and restrictions, chartering a bank of the United States?'

Fifth: 'What is your opinion as to the constitutional power of the senate or house of representatives of the congress of the United States, to expunge or obliterate from the journals, the records and proceedings of a previous session?'

From the manner in which the four first questions are stated, it appears that you do not ask my opinions as to the policy or propriety of the measures to which they respectively refer; but what would be my course, if they were presented to me (being in the presidential chair of the United States) in the shape of bills, that had been duly passed by the senate and house of representatives.

From the opinions which I have formed of the intention of the constitution, as to cases in which the veto power should be exercised by the president, I would have contented myself with giving an affirmative answer to the four first questions; but, from the deep interest which has been and indeed is now felt in relation to all the subjects, I think it proper to express my views upon each one separately.

I answer, then, first: That the immediate return of all the surplus money which is, or ought to be, in the treasury of the United States, to the possession of the people from whom it was taken, is called for by every principle of policy and, indeed, of safety to our institutions; and I know of no mode of doing it better than that

recommended by the present chief magistrate, in his first annual message to congress, in the following words: '*To avoid these evils it appears to me that the most safe, just, and federal disposition which could be made of the surplus revenue, would be its apportionment among the several states according to the ratio of representation.*'

This proposition has reference to a state of things which now actually exists, with the exception of the amount of money thus to be disposed of; for it could not have been anticipated by the president that the surplus above the real wants or convenient expenditures of the government would become so large, as that retaining it in the treasury would so much diminish the circulating medium as greatly to embarrass the business of the country.

What other disposition can be made of it, with a view to get it into immediate circulation, but to place it in the hands of the state authorities? So great is the amount, and so rapidly is it increasing, that it could not be expended for a very considerable time on the comparatively few objects to which it could be appropriated by the general government; but the desired distribution amongst the people could be immediately effected by the states, from the infinite variety of ways in which it might be employed by them. By them it might be loaned to their own banking institutions, or even to individuals—a mode of distribution by the general government, which I sincerely hope is in the contemplation of no friend to his country.

Second: Whilst I have always broadly admitted that the public lands were the common property of all the states, I have been the advocate of that mode of disposing of them, which would create the greatest number of freeholders; and I conceived that in this way the interests of all would be as well secured as by any other disposition; but since, by the small size of the tracts in which the lands are now laid out, and the reduction of the price, this desirable situation is easily attainable by any person of tolerable industry, I am perfectly reconciled to the distribution of the proceeds of the sales, as provided for by the bill introduced into the senate by Mr. Clay; the interests of all seem to be well provided for by this bill; and as, from the opposition which has hitherto been made to the disposition of the lands heretofore contemplated by the representatives of the new states, there is no probability of its being adopted, I think it ought no longer to be insisted on.

Third: As I believe that no money should be taken from the treasury of the United States to be expended on internal improvements but for those which are strictly national, the answer to this question would be easy, but from the difficulty of determining which of those that are from time to time proposed, would be of this description. This circumstance, the excitement which has already been produced by appropriations of this kind, and the jealousies which it will no doubt continue to produce if persisted in, give additional claims to the mode of appropriating all the surplus revenue of the United States in the manner above suggested. Each state will then have the means of accomplishing its own schemes and internal improvement. Still there will be particular cases when a contemplated improvement will be of greater advantage to the Union generally, and some particular states, than to that in which it is to be made. In such cases, as well as those in the new states, where the value of the public domain will be greatly enhanced by an improvement in the means of communication, the general government should certainly largely contribute. To appropriations of the latter character there has never been a very warm opposition. Upon the whole, the distribution of the surplus revenue amongst the states seems likely to remove most, if not all, the causes of dissension of which the internal improvement system has been the fruitful source. There is nothing, in my opinion, more sacredly incumbent upon those who are concerned in the administration of our government, than that of preserving harmony between the states. From the construction of our system, there has been, and probably ever will be, more or less jealousy between the general and state governments; but there is nothing in the constitution—nothing in the character of the relation which the states bear to each other, which can create any unfriendly feeling, if the common guardian administers its favors with an even and impartial hand. That this may be the case, all those to whom any portion of this delicate power is intrusted, should always act upon the principles of forbearance and conciliation; ever more ready to sacrifice the interests of their immediate constituents, rather than violate the rights of the other members of the family. Those who pursue a different course, whose rule is never to stop short of the attainment of

all which they may consider their due, will often be found to have trespassed upon the boundary they had themselves established. The observations with which I shall conclude this letter, on the subject of the veto power by the president, will apply to this as well as your other questions.

Fourth: I have before me a newspaper, in which I am designated by its distinguished editor, "*The bank and federal candidate.*" I think it would puzzle the writer to adduce any act of my life which warrants him in identifying me with the interest of the first, or the politics of the latter. Having no means of ascertaining the sentiments of the directors and stockholders of the Bank of the United States, (which is the one, I presume, with which it was intended to associate me,) I cannot say what their course is likely to be in relation to the ensuing election for president. Should they, however, give me their support, it will be evidence, at least, that the opposition which I gave to their institution in my capacity of representative from Ohio, in congress. proceeded, in their opinion, from a sense of duty which I could not disregard.

The journals of the second session of the thirteenth, and those of the fourteenth congress, will show that my votes are recorded against them upon every question in which their interest was involved. I did, indeed, exert myself in the senate of Ohio, to procure a repeal of the law, which had imposed an enormous tax upon the branches which had been located in its boundaries at the request of the citizens. The ground of those exertions was not the interest of the bank; but to save what I considered the honor of the state, and to prevent a controversy between the state officers and those of the United States.

In the spring of 1834, I had also the honor to preside at a meeting of the citizens of Hamilton county, called for the purpose of expressing their sentiments in relation to the removal of the public money from the custody of the bank, by the sole authority of the executive. As president of the meeting, I explained at some length the object for which it was convened, but I advanced no opinion in relation to the rechartering of the bank.

A most respectful memorial to the president in relation to the removal of the deposites was adopted, as were also resolutions in favor of rechartering the bank; but, as I have already said, this was not the purpose for which the meeting was called, and not one upon which, as presiding officer, I was called upon to give an opinion, but in the event of an equal division of the votes.

As a private citizen, no man can be more entirely clear of any motive, either for the rechartering the old institution, or creating a new one under the authority of the United States. I never had a single share in the former, nor, indeed, in any bank, with one exception; and that many years ago failed, with the loss of the entire stock. I have no inclination again to venture in that way, even if I should ever possess the means. With the exception above mentioned, of stock in a bank, long since broken, I never put out a dollar at interest in my life. My interest being entirely identified with the cultivation of the soil, I am immediately and personally connected with none other.

I have made this statement to show you that I am not committed to any course in relation to the chartering of a bank of the United States; and that I might, if so disposed, join in the popular cry of denunciation against the old institution, and upon its misconduct, predicate an opposition to the chartering of another.

I shall not, however, take this course, so opposite to that which I hope I have followed through life, but will give you my sentiments clearly and fully, not only with regard to the future conduct of the government on the subject of a national bank, but in relation to the operations of that which is now defunct.

I was not in congress when the late bank was chartered, but was a member of the thirteenth congress, after its first session, when the conduct of the bank, in its incipient measures was examined into; and believing, from the result of the investigation, that the charter had been violated, I voted for the judicial investigation, with a view of annulling its charter. The resolution for that purpose, however, failed; and shortly after, the management of its affairs was committed to the talents and integrity of Mr. Cheves. From that period to its final dissolution, (although I must confess I am not a very competent judge of such matters,) I have no idea that an institution could have been conducted with more ability, integrity, and public advantage than it has been.

Under these impressions, I agree with general Jackson in the opinion expressed in one of his messages to congress, from which I make the following extract: '*That a bank of the United States, competent to all the duties which may be required by the government, might be so organized as not to infringe on our delegated powers, or the reserved rights of the states, I do not entertain a doubt.*' But the period for rechartering the old institution has passed, as Pennsylvania has wisely taken care to appropriate to herself the benefits of its large capital.

The question, then, for me to answer, is whether, under the circumstances you state, if elected to the office of president, I would sign an act to charter another bank. I answer, I would, if it were clearly ascertained that the public interest in relation to the collection and disbursement of the revenue would materially suffer without one, and there were unequivocal manifestations of public opinion in its favor. I think, however, the experiment should be fairly tried, to ascertain whether the financial operations of the government cannot be as well carried on without the aid of a national bank. If it is not necessary for that purpose, it does not appear to me that one can be constitutionally chartered. There is no construction which I can give the constitution which would authorize it, on the ground of affording facilities to commerce. The measure, if adopted, must have for its object the carrying into effect (facilitating at least the exercise of) some *one* of the powers positively granted to the general government. If others flow from it, producing equal advantages to the nation, so much the better; but these cannot be made the ground for justifying a recourse to it.

The excitement which has been produced by the bank question, the number and respectability of those who deny the right to congress to charter one, strongly recommend the course above suggested.

Fifth: I distinctly answer to this question, that, in my opinion, neither house of congress can constitutionally expunge the record of the proceedings of their predecessors.

The power to rescind certainly belongs to them; and is, for every legitimate purpose, all that is necessary. The attempt to expunge a part of their journal, now making in the senate of the United States, I am satisfied could never have been made but in a period of the highest party excitement, when the voice of reason and generous feeling is stifled by long protracted and bitter controversy.

In relation to the exercise of the veto power by the president, there is, I think, an important difference in opinion between the present chief magistrate and myself. I express this opinion with less diffidence, because I believe mine is in strict accordance with those of all the previous presidents to general Jackson.

The veto power, or the control of the executive over the enactment of laws by the legislative body, was not unknown in the United States previously to the formation of the present federal constitution. It does not appear, however, to have been in much favor. The principle was to be found in but three of the state constitutions; and in but one of them (Massachusetts) was the executive power lodged in the hands of a single chief magistrate. One other state (South Carolina) had, indeed, not only adopted this principle, but had given its single executive magistrate an absolute negative upon the acts of the legislature. In all other instances it has been a qualified negative, like that of the United States. The people of South Carolina seem, however, not to have been long pleased with this investment of power in their governor, as it lasted but two years; having been adopted in 1776, and repealed in 1778; from which time the acts of the legislature of that state have been entirely freed from executive control. Since the adoption of the constitution of the United States, the veto principle has been adopted by several states; and until very lately, it seemed to be rapidly growing into favor.

Before we can form a correct opinion of the manner in which this power should be exercised, it is proper to understand the reasons which have induced its adoption. In its theory, it is manifestly an innovation upon the first principle of republican government—that the majority should rule. Why should a single individual control the will of that majority.

It will not be said that there is more probability of finding greater wisdom in the executive chair, than in the halls of the legislature. Nor can it possibly be supposed, that an individual residing in the centre of an extensive country, can be as

well acquainted with the wants and wishes of a numerous people, as those who come immediately from amongst them—the partakers, for a portion of the year, in their various labors and employments; and the witnesses of the effects of the laws in their more minute as well as general operations.

As far, then, as it regards a knowledge of the wants and wishes of the people, wisdom to discover remedies for existing evils, and devising schemes for increasing the public prosperity, it would seem that the legislative bodies did not require the aid of an executive magistrate. But there is a principle, recognised by all the American constitutions, which was unknown to the ancient republics. They all acknowledge rights in the minority, which cannot rightfully be taken from them. Experience had shown that in large assemblies, these rights were not always respected. It would be in vain that they should be enumerated, and respect for them enjoined in the constitution. A popular assembly, under the influence of that spirit of party which is always discoverable in a greater or less degree in all republics, might and would, as it was believed, sometimes disregard them. To guard against this danger, and to secure the rights of each individual, the expedient of creating a department independent of the others, and amenable only to the laws, was adopted. Security was thus given against any palpable violation of the constitution, to the injury of individuals, or of a minority party. But it was still possible for a wilful and excited majority to enact laws of the greatest injustice and tyranny, without violating the letter of their charter.

And this I take to be the origin of the veto power, as well in the state governments, as that of the United States. It appears to have been the intention to create an umpire between the contending factions, which had existed, it was believed, and would continue to exist. If there was any propriety in adopting this principle in the government of a state, all the reasons in favor of it existed in a tenfold degree for incorporating it in that of the United States. The operations of the latter, extending over an immense tract of country, embracing the products of almost every clime, and that country divided too into a number of separate governments, in many respects independent of each other and of the common federal head, left but little hope that they could always be carried on in harmony. It could not be doubted that sectional interests would at times predominate in the bosoms of the immediate representatives of the people and the states, and combinations formed destructive of the public good, or unjust and oppressive to a minority. Where could a power to check these local feelings, and to destroy the effects of unjust combinations, be better placed than in the hands of that department whose authority, being derived from the same common sovereign, is co-ordinate with the rest, and which enjoys the great distinction of being at once the immediate representative of the whole people, as well as of each particular state?

In the former character, the interests of the whole community would be rigidly supported, and, in the latter, the rights of each member steadfastly maintained. The representation from the state authorities in the electoral colleges, I consider one of the most felicitous features in the constitution. It serves as an eternal memento to the chief magistrate that it is his duty to guard the interests of the weak against the unjust aggressions of the strong and powerful. From these premises, you will conclude that I consider the qualified veto upon the acts of the legislature, conferred by the constitution upon the president, as a *conservative* power, intended only to be used to secure the instrument itself from violation, or, in times of high party excitement, to protect the rights of the minority, and the interests of the weaker members of the Union. Such, indeed, is my opinion, and such we must believe to be the opinion of nearly all the distinguished men who have filled the executive chair. If I were president of the United States, an act which did not involve either of the principles above enumerated, must have been passed under very peculiar circumstances of precipitancy or opposition to the known public will, to induce me to refuse to it my sanction.

If the opinion I have given of the motives of the framers of the constitution, in giving the veto power to the president, is correct, it follows, that they never could have expected that he who was constituted the umpire between contending parties, should ever identify himself with the interests of one of them, and voluntarily *raze* himself from the proud eminence of leader of a nation to that of chief of a party. I can easily conceive the existence of a state of things by which the chief magistrate of a state may be forced to act upon party principles; but such a course is entirely

opposed to all the obligations which the constitution imposes on a president of the United States. The immense influence he possesses will always give to his party the preponderance, and the very circumstance of its being an executive party will be the cause of infusing more bitterness and vindictive feeling in these domestic contests. Under these circumstances, the qualified veto given by the constitution may, if the president should think proper to change its character, become as absolute in practice as that possessed by the kings of England and France. From the great variety of local interests acting upon the members of the two houses of congress, and from the difficulty of keeping all the individuals of a large party under the control of party discipline, laws will often be passed by small majorities adverse to the interests of the dominant party; but if the president should think proper to use the veto power for the purpose of promoting the interests of his party, it will be in vain to expect that a majority so large as two-thirds in both houses would be found in opposition to his wishes. In the hands of such a president, the qualified veto of the constitution would in practice become absolute.

I have, upon another occasion, expressed my views upon the danger of a dominant executive party. It may, perhaps, be said, that the chief magistrate will find it impossible to avoid the influence of party spirit. Several of our chief magistrates, however, have been able to escape its influence; or, what is the same thing, to act as if they did not feel it. As one mode of avoiding it, it would be my aim to interfere with the legislation of congress as little as possible. The clause in the constitution which makes it the duty of the president to give congress information of the state of the Union, and to recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient, could never be intended to make him the source of legislation. Information should always be frankly given, and recommendations upon such matters as come more immediately under his cognisance than theirs. But there it should end. If he should undertake to prepare the business of legislation for the action of congress, or to assume the character of code maker for the nation, the personal interest which he will take in the success of his measures will necessarily convert him into a partisan, and will totally incapacitate him from performing the part of that impartial umpire, which is the character that I have supposed the constitution intends him to assume, when the acts passed by the legislature are submitted to his decision. I do not think it by any means necessary that he should take the lead as a reformer, even when reformation is, in his opinion necessary. Reformers will be never wanting when it is well understood that the power which wields the whole patronage of the nation will not oppose the reformation.

I have the honor to be, with great consideration and respect, sir, your humble servant,

W. H. Harrison.

To the honorable Sherrod Williams."

In September, 1836, the following correspondence took place between general Harrison and John H. Pleasants, esq., relative to the charge (see p. 60) of his enemies, that he was in favor of "selling white men."—Niles, vol. li. p. 94.

"*Richmond, September 15th*, 1836.

Dear Sir—Your political opponents in the state of Maryland have, for some time, been actively urging against you a new charge, that of *selling white men*, which probably had no inconsiderable effect in the recent elections in that state, and which is evidently much relied upon to influence the approaching elections throughout the United States. I enclose you a paper (the Baltimore Republican) containing the charge in full; and I beg of you, as an act of justice to yourself and your friends, to enable me to refute a charge against the uniform tenor of your life, which, I am well aware, has been replete with instances of distinguished private liberality and public sacrifice.

With the highest respect, I have the honor to be your fellow-citizen,

General Wm. H. Harrison. John H. Pleasants.

Richmond, September 15, 1836.

Dear Sir—I acknowledge the receipt of your favor of this date. I have before heard the accusation to which it refers. On my way hither, I met yesterday with a

young gentleman of Maryland, who informed me that a vote of mine in the senate of Ohio had been published, in favor of a law to sell persons imprisoned under a judgment for debt for a term of years, if unable otherwise to discharge the execution. I did not for a moment hesitate to declare that I had never given any such vote, and that if a vote of that description had been published and ascribed to me, it was an infamous forgery. Such an act would have been repugnant to my feelings, and in direct conflict with my opinions, public and private, through the whole course of my life. No such proposition was ever submitted to the legislature of Ohio; none such would for a moment have been entertained; nor would any son of hers have dared to propose it.

So far from being willing to sell men for debts which they are unable to discharge, I am, and ever have been opposed to all imprisonment for debt. Fortunately, I have it in my power to show that such has been my established opinion, and that, in a public capacity, I avowed and acted upon it. Will those who have preferred the unfounded and malicious accusation refer to the journals of the senate of the United States, second session, nineteenth congress, page 325—it will there be seen that I was one of a committee which reported a bill to abolish imprisonment for debt. When the bill was before the senate, I advocated its adoption, and on its passage voted in its favor. See senate journal, first session, twentieth congress, pages 101 and 102.

It is not a little remarkable, that, if the effort I am accused of having made to subject men to sale for the non-payment of their debts had been successful, I might, from the state of my pecuniary circumstances at the time, have been the first victim. I repeat, the charge is a vile calumny. At no period of my life would I have consented to subject the poor and unfortunate to such a degradation; nor have omitted to exert myself in their behalf, against such an attempt to oppress them.

It is sought to support the charge by means of garbled extracts from the journals of the senate of Ohio. The section of the bill which is employed for that purpose, had no manner of reference to the relation of creditor and debtor, and could not by possibility subject the debtor to the control of his creditor. None know better than the authors of the calumny, that the alleged section is utterly at variance with the charge which it is attempted to found upon it, and that so far from a proposition to invest a creditor with power over the liberty of his debtor, it had respect only to the mode of punishing public offenders, who had been found guilty, by a jury of their fellow-citizens, of some crime against the laws of their state. That was exclusively the import and design of the section of the bill, upon the motion to strike out which, I voted in the negative. So you perceive that, in place of voting to enlarge the power of creditors, the vote which I gave concerned alone the treatment of malefactors, convicted of crimes against the public.

I would extend this letter to an inconvenient length to go fully into the reasons which led me at the time to an opinion in favor of the proposed treatment of that class of offenders who would have fallen within its operation, nor is such an exposé called for. The measure was by no means a novelty in other parts of the country. In the state of Delaware there is an act in force, in similar words with the section of the bill before the Ohio senate, which has been made of late the pretext of such insidious invective. Laws, with somewhat similar provisions, may probably be found in many of the states. In practice the measure would have meliorated the condition of those who were under condemnation. As the law stood, they were liable under the sentence to confinement in the common jail, where offenders of various degrees of profligacy—of different ages, sex, and color—were crowded together. Under such circumstances, it is obvious that the bad must become worse, whilst reformation could hardly be expected in respect to any. The youthful offender, it might be hoped, would be reclaimed, under the operation of the proposed system; but there was great reason to fear his still greater corruption amid the contagion of a common receptacle of vice. Besides, the proposed amendment of the law presupposed that the delinquent was in confinement for the non-payment of a fine and costs of prosecution, the payment of which was a part of the sentence; it seemed, therefore, humane, in respect to the offender, to relieve him from confinement which deprived him of the means of discharging the penalty, and to place him in a situation in which he might work out his deliverance, even at the loss, for a time, of his personal liberty.

But I forbear to go further into the reasons which led me, sixteen years ago, as a

member of the Ohio senate, to entertain a favorable opinion of an alteration which was proposed in the criminal police of the state. It is certain, that neither in respect to myself, nor those who concurred with me, was the opinion at the time considered as the result of unfriendly bias towards the poor or unfortunate. Nay, the least objection which I could have anticipated, even from the eager and reckless desires to assail me, was a charge of unfriendliness to the humble and poor of the community.

I am, my dear sir, with great respect, your humble servant,

J. H. Pleasants, esq." WM. H. HARRISON.

The following letter (see Niles, vol. li. p. 150) was addressed by general Harrison to a committee of the citizens of York, Pa., in reply to a letter requesting information in relation to a charge of his political opponents, that he had "wantonly burned a Moravian town in Canada, with all their provisions, and that but for the humanity of commodore Perry, in furnishing them with flour, they must have perished with hunger."

"*York, October* 8, 1836.

GENTLEMEN—In answer to your inquiry in relation to the burning of the town occupied by the Moravian Indians, near to the scene of the action of the river Thames, in the year 1813, I state, that it was not burned by my order, but by order of a major-general of the Kentucky militia, after I had left the army, on my return to Detroit. This gentleman has always been opposed to me in politics; but, although he was blamed by others, I thought he was perfectly justifiable in doing so, because the Indians to whom it belonged had fought against us in the action, and if the town had been left, it would have afforded a place of rendezvous for the hostile Indians during the winter, which would have enabled them greatly to annoy our outposts and the settlements of Detroit. In war, nothing is more common than the destruction of the houses, even of our friends, where they can be used to advantage by the enemy. Thus general Jackson very properly destroyed all the houses of American citizens in front of his lines near New Orleans. No general who does not do so, where the necessity occurs, would deserve to have an army intrusted to him.

I will add, that there were *no provisions or stores* of any kind in the town, as they had all been consumed by the British troops and Indians, nor was there a barrel of flour, belonging to our army, within fifty miles. The story, therefore, of the Moravians being supplied by commodore Perry, is a wilful fabrication. I am, respectfully, &c. WM. H. HARRISON."

It is now generally admitted, that the opponents of the administration failed to elect general Harrison in November, 1836, in consequence of their distrust of their own strength; for the returns clearly indicate that, with proper exertions, several states, and especially Pennsylvania, which cast their votes for Mr. Van Buren, could have been secured to him. The result, however, incited the friends of general Harrison to renewed efforts in his support, and he was again nominated as a candidate by the people.

In 1838, he was nominated by the National Democratic Anti-Masonic Convention, which assembled at Harrisburg, Pa.; and in reply to the president, who communicated the official proceedings, he stated that the following were "among the principles to be adopted by any executive sincerely desirous to restore the administration to its original simplicity and purity, viz.:

I. To confine his service to a single term.

II. To disclaim all right of control over the public treasure, with the exception of such part of it as may be appropriated by law, to carry on the public services, and that to be applied precisely as the law may direct, and drawn from the treasury agreeably to the long established forms of that department.

III. That he should never attempt to influence the elections, either by the people or the state legislatures, nor suffer the federal officers under his control to take any other part in them than by giving their own votes, when they possess the right of voting.

IV. That in the exercise of the veto power, he should limit his rejection of bills to, first: Such as are, in his opinion, unconstitutional; second: Such as tend to encroach on the rights of the states or individuals; third: Such as involving deep in-

terests, may, in his opinion, require more mature deliberation or reference to the will of the people, to be ascertained at the succeeding elections.

V. That he should never suffer the influence of his office to be used for purposes of a purely party character.

VI. That in removals from office of those who hold their appointments during the pleasure of the executive, the cause of such removal should be stated, if requested, to the senate, at the time the nomination of a successor is made.

And last, but not least in importance,

VII. That he should not suffer the executive department of the government to become the source of legislation: but leave the whole business of making laws for the Union to the department to which the constitution has exclusively assigned it, until they have assumed that perfected shape, where and when alone the opinions of the executive may be heard. * * * * *

The question may perhaps be asked of me, what security I have in my power to offer, if the majority of the American people should select me for their chief magistrate, that I would adopt the principles which I have herein laid down as those upon which my administration would be conducted; I could only answer, by referring to my conduct, and the disposition manifested in the discharge of the duties of several important offices, which have heretofore been conferred upon me. If the power placed in my hands has, on even a single occasion, been used for any purpose other than that for which it was given, or retained longer than was necessary to accomplish the objects designated by those from whom the trusts were received, I will acknowledge that either will constitute a sufficient reason for discrediting any promise I may make, under the circumstances in which I am now placed."

On the 7th day of December, 1839, GENERAL WM. H. HARRISON, of Ohio, was unanimously nominated as the candidate of the opponents of the administration, for the office of president, and JOHN TYLER, of Va., their candidate for the office of vice-president of the United States, by the national convention which assembled at Harrisburgh, Pa., comprising delegates from the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Illinois, Alabama, and Michigan. The delegates were among the most respectable and intelligent citizens of their respective states, and the nominations were made after the most calm and deliberate consideration; every individual being deeply impressed with the necessity of sacrificing mere personal preferences, for the purpose of insuring unity of action and success in the contest. The spirit which animated the convention governed the individuals who had been placed before it as candidates by the people; and the noble and disinterested letter of Mr. Clay, gave that body the strongest assurance that the nominations would receive the cordial support of every man desirous "to bring about a salutary change in the government." That assurance has been realized; and never were the friends of the honor and happiness of the nation more closely united in the struggle against the "spoilsmen."

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, of Ohio, and JOHN TYLER, of Va., having been unanimously nominated, a committee, composed of one member from each of the twenty-two states represented in the convention, was appointed to communicate the fact to them, to which they returned the following replies:

"*North Bend*, 19*th Dec.* 1839.

GENTLEMEN—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter from Harrisburg of the 7th instant.

However objectionable in the opinions of many of our fellow-citizens, may be the mode of selecting a candidate for the two highest offices of the government by a general convention, the peculiar circumstances in which the party opposed to the present administration were placed, seem to have left them no alternative to secure that unity of action so necessary to their success. The number of states represented, and the exalted characters of the delegates to whom the delicate task of nominating a candidate was committed, leaving no room to doubt that their decision was in accordance with the wishes of the majority of their constituents, I accept with gratitude the

nomination which, in obedience to a resolution of the convention, you have done me, gentlemen, the honor to communicate.

But however high I may value this evidence of the attachment and confidence of so large a portion of my fellow-citizens, I must beg you to believe, gentlemen, that no one is more thoroughly convinced than I am, that in selecting a retired and unpretending individual to be their candidate, the convention were influenced by circumstances often occurring in popular governments to set aside the higher claims of other citizens, although founded upon the possession of the most distinguished talents, and the performance of the most eminent services to their country, united to every other quality necessary to the discharge of the duties of chief magistrate of this great republic.

It may, perhaps, be expected that I should embrace this occasion to declare the principles upon which the administration will be conducted, if the efforts of my friends to place me in the presidential chair should prove successful. But having, in a letter to the honorable Harmer Denny, and in another to the honorable Sherrod Williams, both of which have been made public, given my views at some length of the character and extent of the powers vested by the constitution in the president, I consider it unnecessary to repeat them here.

I deem it, however, gentlemen, proper at this time to renew the assurance heretofore frequently made, that should I be elected to the presidency, I will under no circumstances consent to be a candidate for a second term.

With the highest consideration, gentlemen, for yourselves and those you represent, I am, your fellow-citizen, W. H. HARRISON.

To the honorable John Owen, of North Carolina, &c."

GOVERNOR TYLER'S REPLY.

"*Williamsburg, Va. Dec.* 16, 1839.

GENTLEMEN—The nomination which, as the organs of the late Harrisburg convention, you have communicated to me, is accepted with a sensibility greatly augmented by the fact, that whilst it is a result in no way contemplated by me, it was attended by the unanimous concurrence of that enlightened and patriotic body. To have my name associated with that of the eminent patriot who is put in nomination for the first office, is of itself regarded by me as no ordinary honor. His long and faithful services to the country, at the council board and in the field, have won for him a distinguished name in history, and furnish the surest guarantee that should he be elevated by the popular voice to the chief executive office, his administration of governmental affairs will be just, and prudent, and wise. With the constitution for his guide, and the good of his country his only aim, I doubt not but that his exertions would be exclusively directed to uphold the one, and to advance the other. The friend and supporter of Jefferson, of Madison, and Monroe, and the immediate descendant of a signer of the Declaration of Independence, can be none other than true to his early republican creed, and the devoted advocate of free principles and of popular rights. I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

JOHN TYLER.

John Owen, esq. and others of the committee."

We also append Mr. Clay's letter to governor Thomas Metcalfe, general Leslie Combes, and the other delegates from Kentucky to the convention.

"*Ashland, Nov.* 20, 1839.

GENTLEMEN—The public use which has been made of my name, in connexion with the office of president of the United States, furnishes the motive, as I trust it will form the apology, for this note. I address it to you, because our common residence in the same state appears to me to render you the most appropriate repository and organ of what I wish now to say.

The convention at Harrisburg to designate candidates of the opposition to the present federal administration, for the offices of president and vice-president of the United States, has been recommended, and the propriety of it has been generally concurred in by all who agree as to the necessity of a change in the general administration. It appeared to me to be the best, if not the only practicable method of reconciling and uniting those who, coinciding in the general principle, entertained different views as

to the most suitable candidates for those high offices, and I have accordingly frequently expressed, and now repeat the expression of my conviction of the expediency of an entire and cordial acquiescence in the recommendations of the convention.

In the mean time, appeals, directly and indirectly, have been made to me by a highly respectable convention holden in Pennsylvania, and by private individuals, to decline giving my consent to the use of my name, upon the ground that a distinguished citizen of the state of Ohio, is the first choice of the opposition in Pennsylvania, and in the opinion of that convention would be more likely to conciliate general support than I should. I have been also addressed by various respectable and intelligent citizens of New York, directly and indirectly recommending me to decline the contest in behalf of another eminent citizen, who has been distinguished in both the military and civil service of the United States.

Whilst I have been thus urgently but respectfully approached, numerous private citizens and public meetings and conventions in various parts of the United States, (one of these conventions, indeed, in Pennsylvania itself,) have done me the honor to express their confidence in me, and to intimate their wishes that I might be the candidate of the opposition for the office of chief magistrate.

It is perfectly manifest that I cannot comply with all these conflicting opinions and wishes, nor, I apprehend, with any one of them, without disobliging the others.

Under these embarrassing circumstances, I have thought it most advisable to leave to the convention at Harrisburg the free selection of candidates, as being the assembly to which, by common consent, that important duty has been referred. Representing, as it probably will, all parts of the United States, bringing together the feelings and views of all, and comparing and weighing the local information which it will derive from every portion, it will be most competent to make a nomination acceptable to the great majority of its constituents. That it will be faithful to the high trust confided to its judgment and patriotism, cannot be doubted; and having a full view of the whole ground, it will be more likely to make a selection agreeable to the great body of the opposition than any separate convention could do, however enlightened and patriotic it may be. If the Pennsylvania convention, to which I have just alluded, be right in supposing that the distinguished citizen whom it prefers would be more likely to be successful than any other, he ought to be nominated, and undoubtedly, for that reason, will be nominated by the Harrisburg convention, should it entertain the same opinion.

With a just and proper sense of the high honor of being voluntarily called to the office of president of the United States by a great, free, and enlightened people, and profoundly grateful to those of my fellow-citizens who are desirous to see me placed in that exalted and responsible station, I must, nevertheless, say, in entire truth and sincerity, that if the deliberations of the convention shall lead them to the choice of another as the candidate of the opposition, far from feeling any discontent, the nomination will have my best wishes and receive my cordial support.

And, gentlemen, I hope that you, my friends and neighbors, will excuse the liberty I take in expressing to you my anxious desire that, discarding all attachment or partiality to me, and guided solely by the motive of rescuing our country from the dangers which now encompass it, you will heartily unite in the selection of that citizen, although it should not be me, who may appear to be most likely, by his election, to bring about a salutary change in the administration of the general government—a change without which we shall be mocked by the forms, and stript of the substantial benefits of free institutions.

From the tenor of this note, I scarcely need observe that you are at perfect liberty to make such use of it as in your discretion may seem proper. I am, with high respect, your friend, HENRY CLAY.

To governor Thomas Metcalfe, general Leslie Combes, and the other delegates from Kentucky to the Harrisburg convention."

The compiler has now completed the official record of general HARRISON'S services, and given the evidences of the impression they made upon the mind of a grateful people, at a period when party spirit did not dare to asperse the fame of our patriots to effect its unhallowed purposes. He has, however, omitted many documents

and facts which more fully illustrate his energy and valor in the field, his wisdom and love of country in council, and the generosity and magnanimity which have uniformly marked his conduct when the welfare and happiness of his fellow-citizens were involved. Yet he believes the array of testimony presented, is sufficient to convince every honorable opponent of general Harrison's, that the charges of imbecility and cowardice are the mere ebulitions of malignant partisans, and that *he has rendered more important services to the country than any man living*, and possesses every qualification to enable him to administer the government upon the true constitutional principles. To his friends it will indeed be gratifying: and the compiler believes it will stimulate them to persevere in the holy cause in which they are engaged. With his earnest prayers that their efforts may be successful, he respectfully takes his leave.

APPENDIX.

THE following anecdotes and incidents in the life of general Harrison, have been collected from various authentic sources.

A curious anecdote is on record, illustrative of the cheerful temper and intrepidity of general Harrison's father, who was identified with every turn in the fortunes of his country; at a period when that country was convulsed by a struggle in which all its rights and very existence were involved. Elbridge Gerry, a delegate from Massachusetts, as slender and spare as Mr. Harrison was vigorous and portly, stood beside Harrison, whilst signing the Declaration. Harrison turned round to him with a smile, as he raised his hand from the paper, and said, "When the hanging scene comes to be exhibited, I shall have all the advantage over you. It will be over with me in a minute, but you will be kicking in the air half an hour after I am gone."

The following is a copy of the message of *Thomas Jefferson*, nominating general Harrison sole commissioner to treat with the Indians.

I nominate William Henry Harrison, of Indiana, to be a Commissioner *to enter into* ANY *treaty or treaties* which may be necessary, with any Indian tribes, northwest of the Ohio, and within the territory of the United States, on the subject of the boundary, or lands.

(Signed) THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The message containing these nominations was transmitted to the Senate of the United States, on the 3d day of February, 1803, read on the 4th, and on the 8th taken up for consideration, when the nomination of William Henry Harrison, above recited, received the *unanimous* sanction of that honorable body.

In September, 1809, governor Harrison held a council at Fort Wayne, and negotiated a treaty with the Miamies, Delawares, Patawatamies, and Kickapoos, by which he succeeded in purchasing from those tribes an extensive tract of country on both sides of the Wabash, and extending up that river more than sixty miles above Vincennes. The tribes who owned these lands were paid for them by certain annuities which they considered a satisfactory equivalent.

Tecumseh was absent when this treaty was made, and the Prophet, not feeling himself interested, had not opposed it; but on the return of Tecumseh, some months after, both he and his brother expressed great dissatisfaction, and even threatened to put to death all those chiefs who had signed the treaty. Hearing this, and anxious too to ascertain their intentions from themselves if possible, governor Harrison despatched messengers to invite them both to Vincennes, and to assure them that any claims they might have to these lands were not affected by the treaty; but that if they would come to Vincennes and exhibit their pretensions, and they should be found to be valid, the lands would be given up or an ample compensation made for them. Tecumseh came, without his brother—and though the governor, having no confidence in his good faith, had requested him not to bring with him more than thirty warriors, he came with four hundred, completely armed. The governor held a council on the 12th of August, 1810, at which Tecumseh and forty of these warriors were present. The governor was attended by the judges of the supreme court, several officers of the army, Winnemack, a friendly chief, and a few unarmed citizens. A sergeant's guard of twelve men was likewise placed near him, but as the day was exceedingly sultry, and they were exposed to the sun, the governor, with his characteristic humanity, directed them to remove to a shaded spot at some distance.

Tecumseh addressed this council with a speech, in which he openly avowed the designs of himself and his brother. He declared it to be their intention to form a coalition of all the red men, to prevent the whites from extending their settlements

farther west—and to establish the principle that the Indian lands belonged in common to all the tribes, and could not be sold without their united consent. He again avowed their intention to put to death all the chiefs who had signed the treaty at Fort Wayne, yet, with singular inconsistency, he at the same time denied all intention to make war, and declared that all those who had given such information to the governor were liars. This was aimed particularly at Winnemack, from whom the governor had received a timely notice of the designs of Tecumseh and his brother.

Governor Harrison replied to Tecumseh in a mild and conciliatory tone, explaining the treaty at Fort Wayne, and clearly proving that all the chiefs whose tribes had any claims upon the land ceded at this time to the United States, were present at the treaty and had voluntarily signed it—and that they had sold these lands for an annuity which they considered a sufficient compensation. The interpreter to the Shawnees explained the governor's speech to the warriors of that tribe, but when the interpreter to the Patawatamies was about to begin, Tecumseh interrupted him in a rude and insulting manner, using the most vehement language and the most violent gesticulation, and loudly declaring that all the governor had said was false, and that he and the United States had cheated and imposed upon the Indians. As he uttered this, his warriors sprung to their feet, and began to brandish their tomahawks and war-clubs, their eyes all fiercely turned upon the governor. Harrison rose immediately and drew his sword. The friendly chief Winnemack cocked a pistol with which he was armed, and some of the officers in attendance drew their weapons and stood on the defensive. During this critical moment not a word was spoken, until the guard came running up and were about to fire on the Indians, when the governor, with singular coolness and presence of mind, restrained them. He then turned to Tecumseh, and calmly but authoritatively told him that "he was a bad man—that he would hold no further talk with him—and that he must now return to his camp, and take his departure from the settlements without delay." The council was immediately broken up, and Tecumseh and his warriors, awed by the coolness and intrepidity of the governor, withdrew in silence.

The next morning Tecumseh, finding that he had to deal with a man of firmness and undaunted bravery, whom he could neither intimidate by his audacious violence nor disconcert by his cunning manœuvres, solicited another interview with the governor, and apologized for the improprieties he had committed at the council the day before.

Still anxious to conciliate this haughty savage, the governor afterwards paid him a visit to his own camp, with no other attendant than the interpreter. Tecumseh received him with courtesy and much attention; his uniform kindness and inflexible firmness having won the respect of the rude warrior; but he still persisted in rigidly adhering to the policy he had avowed at the council on the preceding day.

The following is an extract from the official report of Gen. Wayne, of the 27th of August, 1794, giving an account of his celebrated battle of *Maumee*:

"The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the generals down to the ensigns, merit my highest approbation. There were, however, some whose rank and situation placed their conduct in a very conspicuous point of view, and which I observed with pleasure and the most lively gratitude: among whom I beg leave to mention brigadier-general Wilkinson, and colonel Hamtramack, the commandants of the right and left wings of the legion, whose brave example inspired the troops; and to these I must add the names of my faithful and gallant aids-de-camp, captains De Butts and T. Lewis, and *lieutenant Harrison, who*, with the adjutant-general, Major Mills, *rendered the most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by their conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory.*"

The conduct of governor Harrison, in administering the affairs of the Indiana territory, was repeatedly approved by the legislative council and house of representatives. In 1805, the former, in reply to the message of the governor, say:

"The confidence which our fellow-citizens have uniformly had in your administration, has been such that they have hitherto had no reason to be jealous of the unlimited power which you possess over our legislative proceedings. We, however, cannot help regretting that such powers have been lodged in the hands of any one,

especially when it is recollected to what dangerous lengths the exercise of those powers may be extended."

The house of representatives, in their reply, make the following remarks:

"Accept, sir, the thanks of the house of representatives for the speech you made to both houses of the legislature on the opening of the present session. In it we discern the solicitude for the future happiness and prosperity of the territory, which has been uniformly evinced by your past administration."

A gentleman who had the anecdote from the lips of the late general Tipton himself, has been so kind as to commit it to writing for our use.—*Yeoman.*

During the last presidential contest, the military claims of general Harrison were freely canvassed, and some of his opponents did not scruple to charge him with a want of courage. The late general Tipton, of the United States senate, who had served as an ensign at the battle of Tippecanoe, was asked by a friend, "what think you, general, of Harrison's courage?" He replied, "I think him as brave a man as ever lived—no one could have behaved with more true courage than he did; while the engagement was hottest, and when the bullets flew thickest, he was to be seen speaking in his ordinary tone, and giving command with the greatest precision. The company to which I belonged," said general Tipton, "went into action eighty strong, and only twenty survived; the firing upon us was most tremendous. After the general had made his arrangements for repelling the attack of the Indians at other points, he rode up to where I was, and made the following inquiries: 'Where's your captain?' He is dead, sir. 'Where is the first or second-lieutenant?' They are both dead, was the reply. 'Well, where is the ensign?' He stands before you. 'Well, my brave fellow,' said Harrison, 'hold your ground for five minutes longer, and all will be safe.'" In fifteen minutes the enemy was repulsed on all sides. Tipton gallantly led on his few remaining comrades to the charge, and victory perched upon the American banner.

As an evidence of Harrison's coolness in the midst of danger, general Tipton stated, that at the moment the conversation ended between himself and general Harrison, and as the horse upon which was mounted his aid, the late general Taylor, of Indiana, was in the act of turning, a rifle ball pierced him through the body, and brought him to the ground, catching his rider's legs under him. It was a favorite black horse of the general's, and he exclaimed. "Ah, is my gallant old black gone! Well, rise and mount again, for we have no time to mourn the loss of a horse, when so many brave ones are exposed to a similar fate"—and having re-mounted his aid, he dashed into the midst of the danger. In a few minutes the battle was over.

Ben, a negro who belonged to the camp, deserted and went over to the Indians, and entered into a conspiracy to assassinate governor Harrison, at the time the savages commenced their attack. Being apprehended whilst lurking about the governor's marquee, waiting an opportunity to accomplish his fell purpose, he was tried by a court martial, and sentenced to be shot. The execution of this sentence was delayed for a short time, in consequence of the troops being engaged in fortifying the camp. In the mean time, the negro was put into Indian stocks, that is, a log split open, notches cut in it to fit the culprit's legs, the upper piece then laid on, and the whole firmly staked into the ground. The governor interposed, and pardoned the culprit. The reason assigned by the governor for his clemency was as follows: "The fact was, that I began to pity him, and could not screw myself up to the point of giving the fatal order. If he had been out of my sight, he would have been executed. The poor wretch lay confined before my fire, his face receiving the rain that occasionally fell, and his eyes constantly turned upon me as if imploring mercy. I could not withstand the appeal, and I determined to give him another chance for his life."

Judge Hall, himself an officer in the late war with Great Britain, in speaking of the battle of Tippecanoe, says: "As far as any commander is entitled to credit, independent of his army, he (general Harrison) merits and has received it. He shared every danger and fatigue to which his army was exposed. In the battle he was in more peril than any other individual; for he was personally known to every Indian, and exposed himself fearlessly, on horseback, at all points of the attack, during the whole engagement. Every important movement was made by his express order."

General John O'Fallon, now residing in St. Louis, a nephew of general George Rogers Clark, and a gallant officer of the late war, having distinguished himself at the siege of Fort Meigs and the battle of the Thames, in a late speech, at a public meeting in that city, in speaking of general Harrison, says:

"At the age of nineteen, I first became acquainted with the distinguished patriot in whose behalf we have assembled, and having been by his side through nearly the whole of the late war, I can bear testimony to his cool, undaunted and collected courage, as well as to his skill, as an able, efficient, and active officer. After the battle of Tippecanoe, which has thrown so much glory over our country's arms, *it was universally admitted that general Harrison was the only officer that could have saved the army from defeat and massacre.*"

It was general Harrison's constant practice to address his troops, personally, believing it to be more effectual than the common mode of general orders. He never omitted an opportunity of setting his troops the example of cheerfully submitting to those numerous and severe privations, incident to the carrying on of military operations, in an almost trackless desert, and in the most inclement seasons.

During the campaign on the Wabash, the troops were put upon a half a pound of bread per day. This quantity only was allowed to the officers of every rank, and rigidly conformed to in the general's own family. The allowance for dinner was uniformly divided between the company, and not an atom more was permitted. In the severe winter campaign of 1812–13, he slept under a thinner tent than any other person, whether officer or soldier; and it was the general observation of the officers, that his accommodations might generally be known, by their being the worst in the army. Upon the expedition up the Thames all his baggage was contained in a valise, while his bedding consisted of a single blanket, fastened over his saddle, and even this he gave to colonel Evans, a British officer who was wounded. His subsistence was exactly that of a common soldier.

On the night, after the action upon the Thames, thirty-five British officers supped with him upon fresh beef roasted before the fire, without either salt or bread, and without ardent spirits of any kind. Whether upon the march or in the camp, the whole army was regularly under arms at day break. Upon no occasion did he fail to be out himself, however severe the weather, and was generally the first officer on horseback of the whole army. Indeed, he made it a point on every occasion, to set an example of fortitude and patience to his men, and to share with them every hardship, difficulty, and danger.

A few years ago, it was ascertained that a large tract of land near Cincinnati, which had been sold some time before for a mere trifle, under an execution against the original proprietor, could not be held by the titles derived from the purchasers, on account of some irregularity in the proceedings. The legal title was in general Harrison and another gentleman, who were the heirs at law. This tract of land was exceedingly valuable, and would have constituted a princely estate for both these heirs, had they chosen to insist on their legal rights: or they might have made some amicable arrangement with the purchasers, to which they would gladly have assented, and have retained at least one half of this property, by giving up the remainder. But general Harrison had never yet suffered his interest to blind his true sense of justice and high-minded honor, nor did he in this instance. On being informed of the situation of this property, he obtained the assent of his co-heir, and immediately executed deeds in fee simple to the purchasers, without claiming any consideration except the trifling difference between the actual value of the land when sold and the amount paid at the sheriff's sale. There were in this tract, too, twelve acres of general Harrison's private property by donation from his father-in-law, which had been improperly included in the sale, and which he might have retained both legally and equitably; but such was his nice sense of honor and scrupulous regard for the rights of others, that he suffered even these twelve acres to be included in the deed given to the purchasers. *This portion* of the land thus relinquished by general Harrison, is now worth more than *one hundred thousand dollars!*

The following sentiment was offered by general Harrison at a public entertainment.

"The people will remember, that to preserve their liberties, they must do their *own voting, and their own fighting.*"

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